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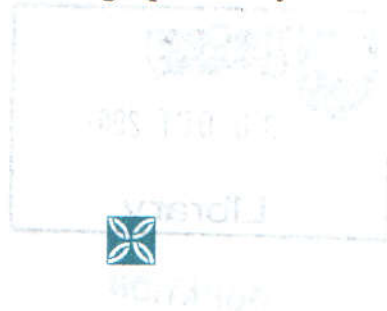
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I FEEL THIS CHALLENGE —BUT I DON'T HAVE THE BACKGROUND
TEACHERS' RESPONSES TO THEIR BILINGUAL PUPILS IN 6 SCOTTISH
PRIMARY SCHOOLS:
An Ethnographic Study



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March 2001

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ABSTRACT

The central question of this research project may be stated as **What are the beliefs about best practice which influence non-specialist mainstream class teachers when teaching bilingual pupils and how have these beliefs been formed?** This thesis reports on an investigation into the influences on mainstream teachers' practice as they respond to the needs of bilingual children in primary classrooms in the area of Scotland which, until April 1996, formed Strathclyde Region.

The research reported in this thesis derived from Smyth and McKee (1996) which found that newly qualifying teachers in Scotland did not feel equipped to support bilingual learners in the classroom. A multi-site case study was conducted in twelve classrooms in six education authorities using non-participant observation and interviews with class teachers.

The transcriptions of the interviews were analysed to find the cultural models which inform teachers' practice. This analysis found that the Master Model which informed teachers' practice in the context being researched was that **Bilingual Pupils Need To Become Monolingual To Succeed.**

This master model helps to shape and organise the teachers' beliefs and leads to a number of related cultural models. This thesis discusses three of these:

Parents who do not speak English hinder the child's academic progress, by definition, their ability to become monolingual.

The role of schools and literacy events is to promote monolingualism.

Those bilingual learners who do not fit the 'Master Model' i.e. those who do not operate monolingually in the dominant language are problematic and require learning support.

The Cultural Models which were found to influence the teachers' practices were not exclusive to teachers in one school or of a certain length of experience, but were found to pertain across the sample of seventeen teachers, albeit with

overlaps and internal contradictions.

The subtractive view of bilingualism which was found to dominate the Cultural Models in the policy vacuum that exists as regards education for bilingual children in Scotland has been shown (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981; Cummins, 1984; Gibbons, 1991; Thomas and Collier, 1997) to have long-term detrimental effects on bilingual children's educational achievement.

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The last three years have often made me consider that research is a solitary process. However when I came to think about writing acknowledgments to those who had helped me in the process I realised just how collaborative a process it had been and just how many people had influenced and helped me.

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Chapter 1

Review of the Literature



Focus of the Study

The central question of this research project may be stated as: **What are the beliefs about best practice which influence non-specialist mainstream class teachers when teaching bilingual pupils and how have these beliefs been formed?** This thesis reports on an investigation into the influences on mainstream teachers' practice as they respond to the needs of bilingual children in primary classrooms in the area of Scotland which, until April 1996, formed Strathclyde Region.

The discussion of bilingual children in this thesis refers to those pupils who use two or more languages in their everyday life (Wiles, 1985). This definition does not take into consideration the level of fluency or the literate abilities in either language in contrast to for example Baetens-Beardsmore (1982).

Personal Context of the Study

My interest in the issue under study can be traced through work as a trade union Equal Opportunities Officer in the early 1980's, employment as a teacher of English as a Second Language in the late 1980's, work undertaken for the Royal Society of Arts (RSA) Diploma in teaching English as a Second Language and courses in Special Educational Needs and Race and Education studied with the Open University. It became clear to me during this period that bilingual children were not achieving educationally at the same rate as their monolingual white peers. An understanding of the cognitive advantages of bilingualism (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981 and Cummins, 1984) suggested that this under achievement was not due to the fact of bilingualism but to something missing in the education of bilingual children. A small-scale study conducted with a colleague in another Scottish teacher education institution (Smyth and McKee, 1997) indicated that new teaching graduates believed themselves to be poorly equipped for teaching bilingual children. I am now employed as a lecturer in primary education in a university faculty of education. I have responsibility for designing courses on bilingualism and wanted to ensure these were informed by a deep understanding

of the issues around bilingualism. I recognised that there was a potential for conflict in my role as researcher and that of teacher educator. Throughout the research therefore I stressed to teachers that this was personal research I was undertaking.

Educational Context of the Study

Children in Scotland start school between the ages of four and a half and five and a half years old and attend primary school for seven years. The predominant model of teaching in Scottish primary schools is one teacher per age-based class for all curricular areas for one school year. All Scottish primary teachers in the state sector now require to have a first degree from a university and to be registered with the General Teaching Council for Scotland. A Scottish teaching certificate qualifies that teacher to teach children from ages three to twelve years, i.e. in both nursery and primary sectors. There are two main routes into primary education - a four year undergraduate Bachelor of Education degree or a one year Postgraduate certificate in primary education following on from a first degree in any discipline. Both these routes are provided by five teacher education institutions in Scotland, four of which are part of University Faculties of Education.

All newly qualified teachers in Scotland must meet the specified Scottish Office competences which relate to content, implementation, assessment and professionalism. While at the time of the research there was not a specific competence related to teaching bilingual pupils all newly qualified teachers are expected to demonstrate an ability to identify and respond to pupils with special educational needs or with learning difficulties and to take into account cultural and linguistic differences among pupils (SOED, 1998).

The research attempted to provide some answers as to how this competence concerning linguistic difference is understood and applied by non-specialist

teachers in multilingual classrooms.

There is limited core input in any of the pre-service primary teacher education courses on supporting the bilingual learner in the classroom. The maximum core input on the four year degree course (and this in only two of the five institutions) is a two hour lecture on bilingualism. Elective courses may be taken by students but these tend only to be opted for if the students have already developed an interest in bilingualism.

The curriculum in Scottish primary schools is guided by the 5 - 14 National Guidelines (SOED, 1993) although these are not a mandatory National Curriculum. There is no national policy in place to ensure the needs of bilingual learners are met within these curricular guidelines. The Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum published guidance for teachers of bilingual pupils (SCCC, 1994) but this document does not have the status of the National Guidelines, nor is it to be found in every school. None of the schools in this research had a copy of the document.

Rationale for the Research

Since the 1950s increasing numbers of children being educated in Scotland have been learning in English while their home language, that is the first language encountered at home, is other than English.

Until the 1980s the large majority of bilingual pupils in Scottish schools were located in the inner city schools of Glasgow, were usually second or third generation and were predominantly from either a Punjabi or Cantonese linguistic background. However new patterns of immigration to Scotland have resulted in pupils from widely disparate linguistic and cultural backgrounds being educated in schools across the country. Many of these schools have little or no history or experience of working with pupils from other than the dominant white, Scots English-speaking background.

A range of factors has contributed to an increase in the number of home languages amongst pupils in Scottish primary schools. Political changes world wide (significantly, the opening of the borders of the former Eastern European Soviet bloc states and war in the former Yugoslavia) along with increased economic mobility (particularly within the member states of the European Union) have resulted in greater numbers of school pupils with European languages other than English as their first language. Increased inward investment from the Far East and the arrival of non-European postgraduate students and their families as universities compete to attract overseas students have added to the multilingual make-up of Scottish Primary schools. In Glasgow, one of the thirty-two unitary authorities in Scotland, there are now pupils with over sixty home languages. This is currently increasing further as Glasgow is one of the centres for dispersal of asylum seekers.

Although there are still inner city schools in Glasgow with large numbers of bilingual pupils and teaching staff specifically employed and qualified to support their needs, the cuts in the education budget resulting from disaggregation of the authority reduced the number of specific support posts even in these schools. Increasingly classroom teachers with no specific qualifications are being required to meet the needs of bilingual pupils in classrooms across Scotland without a coherent authority policy necessarily being in place in relation to the educational needs of bilingual pupils and with limited centralised support mechanisms.

The research reported in this thesis was conducted in one primary school in each of six of Scotland's thirty two unitary authorities. The six authorities had each, prior to 1996, been part of Strathclyde Region, previously the largest single education authority, in Scotland, which has now been disaggregated into twelve unitary authorities.

As a lecturer in primary education in the largest teacher education institution in Scotland I have utilised my past experience and qualifications in the teaching of bilingual pupils to develop pre-service and inservice courses related to teaching bilingual pupils. As mentioned above however there is limited core pre-service input in teacher education concerning the needs of bilingual pupils. Inservice courses tend to be requested by those authorities with the largest numbers of bilingual pupils. My continued involvement in the professional bodies for teachers working in this area brings me into immediate contact with the current concerns in the field.

There has been little research in the specific Scottish context of the learning of children for whom English is an additional language and this research hopes to begin to address that gap.

Aims of the Project

Initially an investigation of the policies, guidelines and support mechanisms which are in place for bilingual pupils in Scotland was undertaken in order to enable the beginnings of an identification of the position being taken by the authorities' policy makers in relation to the teaching of bilingual children in Scotland. The stance of the new authorities may not yet have been clearly articulated but the position adopted by the authority would influence the practice which can be and is adopted by practitioners, i.e. classroom teachers, as the macro-educational context would have influenced teachers' knowledge and understanding in relation to bilingual pupils' needs. The research then focused on evolving a description of the methods and approaches being used by schools and mainstream class teachers to meet the needs of bilingual pupils in schools where there is no specific support for such pupils. I wished to discover what was happening in multilingual classrooms around Scotland in relation to the teaching of bilingual pupils, specifically in those schools with a small number of bilingual pupils and no support policy in place. This very wide aim lacked focus and I realised was open to subjective interpretation on my part.

My research question then developed into an examination of the constraints and influences on and the challenges for teachers' practice within the macro-context of Scottish primary education. I sought answers to a number of questions in relation to what and how bilingual children were taught in one selected primary school in each of six of the twelve education authorities from what previously formed the Strathclyde Region.

It was necessary to first of all establish the context in which the teachers were working by identifying the current provisions being made by local authorities and teacher education institutions to prepare and support teachers for teaching in multilingual classrooms. Answers were sought to questions 1 - 5, below, by reading policy documents and interviewing headteachers and class teachers. The context of the six schools is summarised in table 2.2, pages 44 - 46.

- 1. In each of the authorities what, if any, is the policy regarding support for bilingual learners in primary schools?**
- 2. What, if any, is the additional staffing provision for bilingual learners in primary schools in each of the six authorities and how is it allocated?**
- 3. What support is offered by the local authority to schools and teachers by way of inservice or advisory teaching regarding the education of bilingual pupils?**
- 4. Do school policy documents recognise the needs of bilingual learners?**
- 5. What preservice and/or inservice education have the teachers had in relation to supporting bilingual learners?**

Once the context had been established, the specific realisation of this context in twelve classrooms in six different authorities was investigated by observations in

the classrooms and interviews with the teachers. I aimed in this way to ascertain how teachers identify and address the needs of bilingual pupils in the classroom and to start to answer the following questions:

6. Given the Scottish context what are class teachers' perceptions of the linguistic and cultural needs of bilingual children and how have these perceptions been formulated?

7. Given the Scottish context what approaches and methods do class teachers adopt to meet the needs of bilingual children?

My initial findings suggested that teachers held a deficit view of bilingualism (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981) and believed that bilingual children required learning support. There were also indications that teachers found parental contact difficult when the bilingual child's parents did not speak English. I realised I was still imposing my beliefs on the collected data. An awareness of these themes on my part did not assist me as a teacher educator to begin to address a situation which presented an alternative view on the education of bilingual children to that which had been shown to be most effective (Thomas and Collier, 1997) as discussed in the literature review.

I needed to find out why non-specialist teachers of bilingual pupils took these approaches to meeting the needs of their bilingual pupils. I required to ascertain the teachers' beliefs rather than merely describe their practices as they compared with the theories I held about best educational practice for bilingual children.

Given the shortage of specific national policy and core pre-service training as described above and summarised in table 2.2, the folk theories or cultural models (Gee, 1999) which are held by teachers concerning bilingualism will have considerable influence on the class teachers' responses to bilingual pupils. The data analysis then set out to discover the folk theories held by the teachers which informed the practices which they adopted in an attempt to answer

8. What are the cultural models which inform class teachers' responses to the demands of the multilingual primary classroom?

I hoped that the data collection and analysis outlined above would then enable me to answer the central question that had evolved, i.e. **What are the beliefs about best practice which influence non-specialist mainstream class teachers when teaching bilingual pupils and how have these beliefs been formed?**

I hoped through this study to make explicit and visible the 'complex, practically oriented and socially derived frames of reference through which teachers actually shape and direct the work of teaching' (Zeichner, Tabachnik and Densmore, 1987: 22), specifically in this research the frames of reference which shape and direct the teaching of bilingual pupils in the Scottish context.

My analysis of the cultural models which informed teachers' practice in this context, discussed in Chapter 3, found that the master model (Gee, op.cit.) or main 'socially derived frame of reference' shaping teachers' practice in relation to bilingual pupils in the Scottish context was that bilingual pupils need to become monolingual to succeed.

The literature review which follows aims to discuss the key themes, issues and scholars which informed this research.

Chapter 1

Review of the Literature



Introduction

This research aimed to identify the connections and gaps in the Scottish context between theories of bilingualism and learning, policies for bilingual education as stated in national guidelines and school policies, and the daily practice of mainstream primary teachers who have little experience in working with bilingual pupils. The shortage of specific national policy and core pre-service training related to meeting the needs of bilingual learners was discussed in the introduction. Given this situation, the research hoped to identify class teachers' beliefs about best practice in relation to the bilingual pupils in their classrooms.

Content of Literature Review

In this literature review a consideration of language policy in general will be followed by a discussion of the importance of a country's language policy for the education of language minorities. The review will then concentrate on the evolution of language policy in Britain, and in Scotland in particular. A discussion of the nature of bilingualism will be followed by a review of models for analysing educational provision for bilingual learners. Issues arising from theories of bilingualism and learning will be discussed. A consideration of the connections between policy and practice will conclude the review.

What Is Language Policy?

Tollefson (1991:16) defines language policy as language planning by governments; language planning being 'all conscious efforts to affect the structure or function of language varieties'. Tollefson further argues (ibid) that 'language policy is one mechanism by which dominant groups establish hegemony in language use'. Lo Bianco (1994, 1999) emphasises that languages do not naturally attain the status of the chosen medium of instruction, a foreign modern curriculum language or an extra-curricular mother tongue. The status and use of a language in education and society are often the subject of conscious decision and intervention on the societal level. He has stressed (1999) that the absence of a policy does not mean that there has been no language planning, but

that the absence of explicit policy is in itself a deliberate choice of the status quo. This echoes the argument of Herriman and Burnaby (1996:3) that where there is no stated policy on a particular issue, there is an implicit recognition that the way things are done is indeed a policy.

Fishman (1973:23-24) has referred to such language planning 'as the organised pursuit of solutions to language problems'. This definition is echoed by Corson (1990:2) who describes a school language policy as being a document which identifies areas of the school's operations where 'language problems exist' and sets out approaches the school and staff will take to deal with these problems. What these theorists and others (Spolsky, 1972; Edwards, 1976; Fairclough, 1989; Herriman and Burnaby, 1996; Freeman, 1996, 1998) all agree is on the necessity of understanding the interaction between language planning and implementation and the sociopolitical context. Freeman (1996:557) has argued that language planning researchers must therefore examine individual institutions to see how they interpret and implement the macro-level language plan within a particular context. This micro examination of individual institutions is the method being used in this research to consider how language planning is interpreted and implemented in the current Scottish context of no explicit policy.

The Significance of Language Policy for the Education of Linguistic Minorities

Almost thirty years ago Spolsky (1972:3) referred to the language barrier created by a school's language education policy, whereby children whose home language was different from that of the school experienced blocks to their learning, discouragement of their efforts and a reduction of their chances of success in the educational system.

Corson (1994:2) argues that the conventional policy in education for dealing with speakers of minority languages has been to ignore the minority language and replace it with the language of education. He states that the non-use of a

language in education clearly indicates the status of that language to all concerned, i.e. it is not valued in education. This view is extended by Thompson, Fleming and Byram (1996:100) who suggest that the absence of an official written policy concerning language in Britain may in itself be viewed as an implicit policy ensuring the dominance of English. Language policy is more devolved than Thompson et al's writing suggests. Although Thompson et al do mention Wales and Scotland, their discussion consistently refers to language policy in the United Kingdom or Britain. The educational situation in Scotland is that for the majority of bilingual children in Scotland their education is delivered through the medium of the English language alone. There is no written Scottish policy regarding the education of bilingual children. There is however provision of Gaelic-medium education but that is not being considered in this study. Thompson, Fleming and Byram (1996:107) suggest that neither in policy nor in practice is any explicit link made between bilingual education in indigenous languages (the case for Gaelic in Scotland) and the educational needs of other bilingual children, the crucial difference being political representation. Since this research started however an important document has been launched (CERES, 1999) to form a starting point for the development of a language policy for Scotland which considers support for the development and use of all of the languages in use in Scotland and the teaching and learning of other world languages. It is hoped that this current research which has investigated existing beliefs and practice will contribute to the development of a Scottish language policy which positively views linguistic diversity.

Corson (1993:71) suggests that the choice of language to be used as the medium of instruction may be the most critical policy decision to be made in any school system, while Landry and Allard (1991:199) identify that the type of language education policy in place, along with whether the bilingual children are from majority or minority linguistic groups, will determine whether bilingualism will be achieved through education.

Kaplan and Baldauf Jnr. (1997:230-231) indicate the extreme situation of the US English organisation in the United States which is aiming, through lobbying for a change of policy, to restrict the number of linguistic options in the United States and make English the official and preferred language in the United States. What Kaplan and Baldauf Jnr. refer to here as negative language planning highlights the significance of language policy for the education of linguistic minorities.

Language-Education Policy In Britain

In this section I shall discuss what influences the educational response, in Britain generally and in Scotland specifically, to the needs of bilingual pupils who are very frequently of a minority ethnic and/or religious background.

Societies respond to linguistic diversity in different ways (Malave and Duquette, 1991; Baetens-Beardsmore, 1993; Herriman and Burnaby, 1996; Kaplan and Baldauf Jnr., 1997). Educational responses to the needs of language minority children have evolved since the immigration from former British colonies in the 1950s.

Rattansi (1992) considers that language became a focus for educational responses to this evolving multicultural society in Britain with the publication of English for Immigrants (DES, 1963). This was the first major government intervention into the teaching of children whose first language was not English. The language needs of the newly arrived immigrant population of schools were addressed in relation to the perceived need for education for the white monolingual majority pupils not to be disrupted by their presence. The cultural needs of the immigrant population were not addressed in official policy and this legacy remains today.

Responses to the existence of children whose first language was not English have varied (Mills & Mills, 1993). Initial responses to the education of bilingual children in Britain focused on assimilation as quickly as possible into the so-

called "host community", ignoring specific language needs. As concern grew about the underachievement of ethnic minority pupils in British schools (DES, 1985) responses developed into practices ranging from teaching bilingual pupils in separate language centres to withdrawing such children from their mainstream classes for the purposes of specialist English language tuition (Bourne, 1990; Herriman & Burnaby, 1996). This tuition often bore little or no relation to the child's curriculum in class. All these educational responses ignored the existence of the children's first language. (Mills & Mills, op. cit.)

Since the 1980s the preferred approach has been to teach English language to children for whom it is an additional language in the context of other learning within the mainstream classroom (Wiles, 1985; SCCC 1994). This puts demands on the classroom teacher to carefully consider the language needs of the bilingual child in relation to the content of classroom teaching.

Stubbs (1994:207) argues that 'schools have always been the most powerful mechanism in assimilating minority children into mainstream cultures'. His analysis of the work of the committees which have produced statements on language in the education system for England and Wales concludes that this burgeoning of ad-hoc language planning has created a 'sophisticated control which recognises ethnic diversity but confines it to the home, which pays lip-service to multilingualism but is empty liberal rhetoric' (pp. 207-8).

Thompson, Fleming and Byram (1996:101) similarly suggest that UK government language policy may be discerned and analysed by considering the recommendations of official committees of enquiry into the education of speakers of languages other than English, or into the teaching of English in schools. As previously discussed on page 13 it is increasingly inappropriate to refer to 'UK government language policy' given the devolution of political power from Westminster to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland that has occurred in the years since Thompson, Fleming and Byram's writing. Bourne (1990) provides a

detailed historical overview of the changes in language policy as expressed in the Bullock report (DES, 1975), the Swann report (DES, 1985), the Harris report (DES, 1990) and the Cox report (DES, 1989) the latter resulting in the National Curriculum for English. These responses are particular to England and Wales, although all the named reports have had an influence on the situation in Scotland.

Bourne (1997:85) stresses that in the changing context of British education, the support of bilingual children in the mainstream requires a radical rethinking of policy. She is referring specifically to the effects in England and Wales of the 1988 Education Act, the National Curriculum and league tables but her arguments apply equally to the evolution in Scotland of the 5-14 Curriculum Guidelines, National Testing, Best Value assessment and Target Setting.

There is no language policy in Scotland which explicitly states that home languages other than English should be eradicated but nor is there a policy document relating to the promotion of home languages, only the unofficial SCCC (1994) 'Languages for Life'. None of the teachers in my study had heard of this document prior to my research.

As in the rest of Britain, language planning in Scotland has been conducted by separate isolated committees with split consultation procedures (Stubbs, op. cit.), different working groups having been responsible for developing guidelines for different areas of the curriculum.

Curriculum and assessment in Scottish primary schools are guided by the 5- 14 National Guidelines (SOED, 1993). These guidelines are advisory, not mandatory.

The stated aims of the Guidelines for English Language 5 - 14 are:

Schools should: develop pupils' skill and knowledge so that they can realize to the full their ability to understand English and use it accurately;

support pupils' personal development through language and literature, including intellectual, emotional, aesthetic, social and moral development;

develop in all pupils a range of positive attitudes towards their own and each other's language development, including concern for tolerance, enjoyment, co-operation and sharing. (SOED, 1991: 5)

These are the aims of English Language teaching for all pupils regardless of their first language and need to be carefully considered in relation to curriculum provision. In considering teachers' practices with bilingual pupils one of the issues considered during this research was how well the curriculum materials in use recognised linguistic and cultural diversity.

The main language of education in Scotland is English. Yet increasing numbers of pupils in Scottish schools are bilingual and use a language other than English in their home situation. There has been little published research in the specific Scottish primary context of the teaching and learning of children for whom English is an additional language. Hindle (1995) described materials developed by a Scottish College of Education for inservice work with classroom teachers of new bilingual children, that is, children who have little or no English and are recent arrivals to the Scottish education system. Gillies (1989) conducted a small scale investigation into the secondary examination results of bilingual pupils from an Asian background in five Glasgow secondary schools and found that bilingual pupils appeared to be under achieving in the arts subjects such as English and History which required more advanced literacy skills when compared with their achievements in the sciences. Landon (1999) evaluated a small scale Early Intervention project into the use of bilingual children's first language (Punjabi and Sylheti) in the early stages of literacy development.

A review of research into the achievements of ethnic minority pupils in England

and Wales in the ten years following the Swann Report (DES, 1985) was conducted by Gillborn and Gipps (1996). It is likely that their findings will be similar if not exactly replicated in Scotland. Of particular concern is their finding that problems with language can sometimes be misinterpreted as indicative of deeper seated learning difficulties which has resulted in inappropriate assessment or even exclusion from classroom life. They additionally found that negative stereotypes, particularly about Asian communities could lead to lower expectations for Asian pupils. By asking teachers about their practice with and aims for bilingual children my research was able to identify certain of the beliefs which influenced class teachers' perceptions of the linguistic, cultural and learning needs of bilingual children.

The Scottish Council for Research in Education recently commissioned a review of research into educational issues affecting minority ethnic groups in Scotland (Powney et al, 1998). However, the authors of the review found themselves unable to answer the research questions set, including 'How does our (Scottish) educational system respond to the multicultural society it serves?' due to the isolated, small-scale nature of research in the area and the lack of detailed statistical information.

The research reported in this thesis aims to respond to a small part of that gap by considering the beliefs of teachers regarding bilingual pupils in the macro context which has been described.

In discussing the placement of children in mainstream education in Britain, Leung (1996) has identified the need for sound theoretical principles to underpin support for bilingual children in the mainstream classroom. Although placement practices for bilingual children are not identical throughout Britain, Leung's argument does apply across the boundaries of educational authorities. The next section of this review will begin with a discussion of the definition of a bilingual child, followed by an overview of the existing theories regarding bilingualism and learning in order to identify what might count as sound theoretical principles

which should inform the development and implementation of educational policy for bilingual children, specifically in Scotland. These principles will be referred to in the discussion of the findings of this research and compared to the folk theories, or cultural models, which appear to inform the teachers' approaches in the absence of a well informed and coherent policy in the Scottish context.

What Is Bilingualism?

Bilingualism is a complex phenomenon with wide ranging views of who is and is not a bilingual. Definitions depend on the definer's purpose (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981) and often involve measurement in terms of scales and dichotomies (Romaine, 1989).

Linguists' definitions are often based on competence (Bloomfield, 1933; Haugen, 1953; Baetens-Beardsmore, 1982) but these can often be too narrow or too broad, do not consider literacy and do not specify whether benchmark competences are derived from monolinguals or other bilinguals. Sociolinguists define bilingualism by the function of the two languages (Weinreich, 1967; Mackey, 1970), thus viewing bilingualism as a characteristic of language use rather than a linguistic phenomenon (Mackey, 1970). Baker (1996) expands on the notion of language functions by discussing domains of language use, that is, the context in which the language is used. Romaine (1989) uses this same definition of language domains but in her discussion of research on domains (Fishman, Cooper and Ma, 1971; Ervin-Tripp, 1964) she expands from domain as context to being a combination of specific times, settings and role relationships.

Psychologists and sociologists have attempted to define bilingualism by the attitudes to each language held by the speakers themselves or by other people's assessment of the speaker.

There is no one correct definition of bilingualism. As stated earlier the definition depends on the purpose of the user. It is not possible to provide one acceptable definition of bilingualism as the term is dependent not only on the individuals but on the sociocultural and sociopolitical situation under discussion.

Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) suggests that the world's bilinguals may be divided into four groups, each of which face different routes to bilingualism. These groups are elite bilinguals, who have freely chosen bilingualism; children from linguistic majorities, for example those with a high status first language who are educated in immersion programmes such as the Gaelic medium education in Scotland, where the pupils have English as a first language; children from bilingual families in which the parents have different first languages and children from linguistic minorities, i.e. the situation for all the children in the studied classes.¹ Skutnabb-Kangas argues (ibid.: 79) that the consequences of such children failing to become bilingual are much more serious than for any of the other groups. For the bilingual children as defined in this study a failure to become bilingual would occur if their second language was developed at the expense of their first language and they ceased to be able to use their first language. This situation must be kept in mind as one of the theoretical principles which should underpin education for bilingual children.

Skutnabb-Kangas discusses the world view of bilingualism, suggesting that with the growth of the nation state, bilingualism came to be seen as deviant and that this view has certainly influenced the debates in Scandinavia on language policies. She argues that bilingualism has historically been associated with poverty and viewed as something to move away from, a stepping stone from a low status bilingualism to a high status monolingualism. This is echoed by Siraj-Blatchford (1994: 46) who argues

In British education ---, being bilingual is still too often perceived as an aberration, or worse, as something children should grow out of.

¹ Although there were a few children in the schools in this research who were from bilingual families where one parent had English as a first language, the research was not conducted in these children's classes.

Although Skutnabb-Kangas indicates that this negativist attitude to bilingualism is changing, certainly in Scandinavia in relation to other Scandinavian languages, she highlights (op.cit.: 70) that a move to language minorities becoming balanced bilinguals is dependent

to a large extent on political and in particular educational decisions.

A balanced bilingual is one who is approximately equally fluent in both languages across various contexts. In reality most bilinguals will use their two languages for different purposes and so the term has limitations of definition. The children in this study, for example, used their first language in the context of the home and their English in the context of the school. It would therefore be difficult to compare their fluency in the two languages. The term balanced bilingual has been used by researchers (Cummins, 1977; Ricciardelli, 1992) when considering the cognitive advantages of bilingualism. This use avoids the inappropriateness of comparing bilinguals with monolinguals; a comparison which Grosjean (1985) has argued does not compare like with like. In this sense, the term has a purpose but it is not a term that should be used to categorise or assess bilingual children.

If, as Skutnabb-Kangas has suggested, bilingualism as deviant is indeed a world view which has had significant influence then it could inform teachers' practices in situations where policy is poorly formed or non-existent and this will be considered in the discussion of the findings.

Skutnabb-Kangas demonstrates the different situations that linguistic minorities find themselves in depending on the status of their first language in the country of residence. The first language of the children in the schools in my study was either Punjabi or Cantonese, neither of which have any legal status in Scotland. In addition Punjabi is not a written language for the majority of the Punjabi speaking children in the study as they are Moslem children, for whom the written language is Urdu. According to Skutnabb-Kangas this status of the first language

is an additional significant factor in the way in which bilingualism is viewed in a society. She argues (op.cit.: 75) that most bilinguals are bilingual because they are forced to be in order to survive in the majority community. This compulsory bilingualism is certainly the case for the children in the studied schools. This situation may affect the educational aims held by the teachers for the children. Teachers may see survival in the majority language community as the main focus of educational practice.

Cummins (1986) has proposed that two alternative conceptions of bilingual proficiency compete in decisions about best practice for bilingual pupils. These are the Separate Underlying Proficiency (SUP) model and the Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) model. The SUP model, which Cummins suggests is the 'common-sense' assumption, is that proficiency in the first language is separate from proficiency in the second language and that there are no transferable skills between the two languages. The CUP model, which Cummins claims is supported by empirical evidence, indicates that there is significant transfer of conceptual knowledge and skills across languages.

Mayor, 1988; Gregory, 1997 and Kearney, 1998 have written about what it means to be bilingual from theoretical and personal perspectives. My research considers what mainstream teachers believe it means when a child is bilingual. This in turn affects how teachers respond to bilingualism and how children perceive their own bilingualism.

Any discussion of bilingualism must clearly state the view of bilingualism being adopted. This research, both in the writing of this thesis and in the discussions with teachers has adopted a modified version of Wiles' (1985) definition, that is, that the bilingual pupils under consideration are those children who use two or more languages in their everyday life **and** are from a minority language background. This definition incorporates multilingualism. It was important that

I shared this understanding with the teachers in the study so that we were talking about the same pupils, even though the teachers' common sense definitions of bilingualism may have differed from mine. Grosjean (1982: 231) reports on a small scale study he undertook with students to uncover the lay person's understanding of the term bilingual. He found that both monolinguals and bilinguals believe fluency in both languages to be the most important factor in describing the bilingual person. It is possible that teachers with no specific education concerning bilingualism may define bilingualism in a similar way to Grosjean's subjects.

Bilingualism And Education

Cazden and Snow (1990: 4) suggest that bilingual education is a simple label for a complex phenomenon. A previous section has described the range of educational responses to the needs of language minority children in Britain. In the context used by many Anglo-American writers on the subject of bilingual education, the term suggests that two languages are used as the medium of instruction. However most of the education received by language minority children in Scotland is through the medium of English, the majority language, only.

In their study of the academic achievement of more than seven hundred thousand bilingual pupils in five school districts of the United States over a fourteen year period, Thomas and Collier found (1997:15) that

the first predictor of long-term school success (for language minority students) is cognitively complex on-grade level academic instruction through students' first language for as long as possible and cognitively complex on-grade level academic instruction through the second language (English) for part of the school day.

These findings support the Common Underlying Proficiency model of bilingualism, discussed on page 21 of this thesis. This model indicates that there

is one central operating system which processes thought irrespective of the language in which a person is operating. If a child has to operate in the classroom in a poorly developed second language then their learning achievements may not be able to meet the cognitive challenges of the classroom. If bilingual pupils are allowed to develop cognitively in their first language then the resultant knowledge and skills will be transferable to the second language due to the Common Underlying Proficiency of the two languages. Such practice was shown by Thomas and Collier's longitudinal study to be the best predictor of long term school success for bilingual pupils.

As has been indicated such practice is not the situation for bilingual pupils in Scotland who receive all their teaching through the medium of English, their second language. The current research did not and could not consider the academic effects of the schooling that exists for Scottish bilingual pupils but it does aim to identify what are the prevailing folk theories concerning bilingualism which result in Thomas and Collier's key finding not apparently influencing practice in Scotland.

A number of typologies of bilingual education have been constructed to try to make the term less complex and ambiguous. Mackey (1970) proposed ninety different forms of bilingual education, depending on the languages of the home, the language(s) of the curriculum, the language(s) of the community and the relative status of the languages. The complexity of Mackey's typology has been criticised by Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) who suggests that many of his distinctions are difficult to distinguish and that he fails to clarify whether he is referring to individuals or systems. Mackey's typology does not consider the linguistic outcome of educational programmes for bilingual children.

Fishman's (1976) typology considers the linguistic aims of a programme as the central feature, that is whether the education aims to maintain and develop the minority language, or utilise it only as a tool to developing full competence in the

majority language. This typology is useful in considering planned provision for bilingual children in which two languages are used as the medium of instruction. It is not useful in the context of the schools being considered by this research where English alone is the medium of instruction.

Gonzales (1975) provides a classification of five different types of bilingual education programme which he considers on a sliding scale from transitional to culturally pluralist. This classification of educational provision for ethnic minority groups has been echoed by de Vreede (1996) in arguing for the knowledge and skills which ideally should form the basis of teachers' educational responses to a multicultural school. This focus on the ideal renders Gonzales' typology as of little use in describing the current situation in Scotland which does not have a coherent position regarding bilingual education.

Skutnabb-Kangas' (1981:125-132) model for discussing bilingual education is derived from a consideration of the specific Scandinavian debate about the best educational response to the needs of bilingual children. In addition to the linguistic aims of the provision it also considers the societal goal, in this case in the specific context of Scandinavia.

Baker's (1996:175) ten point typology is derived from a consideration of the British context and he uses similar categories to Skutnabb-Kangas to discuss the nature of educational provision for bilingual children in contemporary Britain. He further categorises the ten proposed types of education for bilingual children as being weak or strong in promoting bilingualism, thus incorporating some of Gonzales' idealisation.

The language of the classroom for all children in the schools researched was the Majority language (English). Interviews with teachers as discussed in the data analysis section suggests that many of the stated educational aims of the teachers for the bilingual children were related to socialising them to enable full

participation in the monolingual school community. Observation of classroom practice also discussed in this section showed evidence of linguistic aims of monolingualism in the majority language. These three features, the language of the classroom, the educational and the linguistic aims, reflect an overall aim in the schools for assimilation of the bilingual child linguistically and culturally into the majority language and culture. Together these aims are concordant with Baker's Submersion type of education for bilingual children which he classifies as the weakest form of education in terms of promoting bilingualism.

Thomas' and Collier's (1997) longitudinal research considered the effectiveness of six forms of educational provision in school for the achievement of bilingual learners who started education with little English. Thomas and Collier considered the academic achievement data from the last years of high school to be the most *important measure of academic success in their study*. The researchers did not set up specific tests for the research but rather analysed the data already existing in the school districts in relation to results in standardised, on-grade-level assessments administered in the English language, across the curriculum. The criteria for a successful educational programme for bilingual learners was one in which English learners reached eventual full educational parity, as measured on nationally standardised tests, with native English speakers in all school subjects after a period of at least five to six years. The six forms of programme analysed had different instructional intentions. The most favourable programmes for the academic success of bilingual learners were those which provided maintenance of the home language alongside development of the second language. The programmes which had the least favourable results and prognosis for the academic achievement of bilingual pupils were those which focused on English only whether by withdrawal or in the classroom.

These latter forms of support are the ones which prevail in the Scottish context and it is important to find out why teachers believe this to be the best practice. Interestingly Thomas and Collier found (1997: 34)

that students being schooled all in English initially make dramatic gains in the early grades, whatever type of program students receive, and this misleads teachers and administrators into assuming that the students are going to continue to do extremely well.

There has been no longitudinal research in Scotland into the achievement of bilingual pupils and it could be that assumptions are made as to the best support due to short term assessment of progress in the early years of primary education.

In his discussion of types of education for bilingual pupils Baker admits (1996:174) that an intrinsic limitation of all typologies is that not all real-life examples will fit easily into the classification and that each of his ten different types of programme have multitudinous sub-varieties. Although I have indicated above that the schools in this research seem to fit Baker's Submersion type of education for bilingual pupils, the ethnographic nature of this specific research has enabled a progression beyond merely labelling the provision to providing a thick description of what teachers are actually doing and what beliefs are informing their approaches to teaching bilingual children. A key feature of the schools researched however was that they did not have a stated policy as regards the education of bilingual pupils. It is interesting to note that given this situation the teachers are interpreting the lack of policy in such a way in the classroom as to embrace Submersion.

Typologies can only provide a generalised indication of educational provision. In order to begin to effectively plan to meet the educational needs of bilingual children, as the Scottish parliament is starting to do, it is vital to understand how these generalisations are translated into classroom practice. The research thus provides fresh insight into the complexities involved in educating bilingual children by considering the macro-level language provision in Scotland in the particular contexts of twelve classrooms. In order to avoid confusion as suggested in the opening paragraph of this current section, I shall not refer to the

educational provision being discussed in this research as bilingual education but rather as the educational provision for bilingual pupils.

Bilingualism in the Classroom

This research is investigating what lies behind mainstream teachers' practices with bilingual pupils where the teachers are operating in a policy vacuum. At the heart of this research lies an analysis of what are the cultural models which are held by teachers in relation to bilingualism and how are these translated into practice when teaching bilingual children. As indicated in table 2.3 (page 52) the teachers in my research have not taught many bilingual pupils and very few of them have had any pre-service or inservice support for working with bilingual pupils. They have not been exposed to the theory or practice of what educational provision is best for bilingual children and are thus working in the context of their own cultural models. In this section some of the most influential work in the field of support for bilingual learners will be reviewed. Although much of this work continues to be developed and critiqued by theorists in the area of bilingual studies, it is representative of the ideas which currently inform good practice. In relation to the acquisition of English, the second language, I found that some of the teachers' stated beliefs and practices did appear to be informed by various existing and dominant theories of language acquisition.

Much of what is described as good practice in relation to the educational provision for bilingual children (see for example Levine, 1990; Gibbons, 1991; Mills and Mills, 1993 and Gravelle, 1996) appears to have been influenced by Krashen's (1982) theories of second language acquisition which are premised on an understanding that second language acquisition mirrors first language acquisition in many ways, although Dodson (1985) argues that first and second language acquisition are inherently different because the second language is acquired with a first language in place.

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Krashen proposed the comprehensible input hypothesis, making the distinction

between formal learning of a language, as in a foreign language classroom, and acquisition of a language in a language and context-rich environment. This notion of language being acquired due to input, along with a belief in the undesirability of separating linguistic minority children from their monolingual peers, was behind the move to teaching bilingual pupils in the mainstream classroom described in the Language-Education Policy In Britain section. These beliefs were to some extent apparent in the practices of the teachers in the study, as discussed in the analysis.

The work of Cummins (1979, 1981, 1984, 1986) has also been influential in the development of what is considered good practice in the education of bilingual children in Britain (see for example Hall, 1995; Godfrey and Skinner, 1995; Clegg, 1996; Cline and Frederickson, 1996). Cummins (1984) has suggested that classroom language development is much more complex than Krashen's model assumes and that exposure to meaningful input by itself will not be sufficient to develop second language skills to the levels required for academic achievement.

Derived from the work of Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) who distinguished between surface fluency in a language and academically related aspects of language proficiency, Cummins (1979) proposed a distinction between the Basic Interpersonal Communicative skills (BICS) that would be acquired in a context embedded linguistic environment and the need for Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) that could only be fostered in context-reduced academic situations. In proposing this distinction Cummins wished to stress (1984: 137-138) that heretofore neglected aspects of language proficiency, such as the ability to hypothesise, extrapolate and predict in the second language, are considerably more relevant for students' cognitive and academic progress than are the surface manifestations of proficiency frequently focused on by educators. Indeed, some teachers in the study did make distinctions between types of language skills but were not able, due to lack of guiding policy, to use this distinction in order to plan in any meaningful way for the bilingual pupils. Many

of the teachers, working in the context of a monolingual school, were found to focus on surface indicators of language proficiency such as pronunciation and tense usage.

Educational provision for most bilingual children in Scotland as described earlier in this report is of a Submersion or Monolingual Immersion type, characterised by Cummins (1984:156) as providing some form of modified second language input, but making no use of bilingual teachers or first language skills. While such a programme may be effective in developing English fluency, Cummins argues it will lead to a subtractive form of bilingualism because of the lower status of the child's first language and the lack of exposure to first language literacy experiences.

The underachievement of bilingual pupils, in many contexts, despite policy adaptations to supposedly address their needs has been well documented (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981; Cummins, 1986; Romaine, 1989; Gillborn and Gipps, 1996). Specifically in England, concern has been raised about the underachievement of African-Caribbean males. While the inclusion of Afro-Caribbean pupils within the definition of bilingual pupils being used in this thesis may not seem immediately appropriate, Leung and Harris (1997: 10) have argued that pupils of Caribbean descent may form a special case of pupils who are competent and confident users of a vernacular English but have difficulty in reproducing accurate and fluent written Standard English in the preferred written genres favoured in specific school subject disciplines.

A recent Scottish Office commissioned report (Powney, McPake, Hall and Lyall, 1998: 45) concluded that

insufficient research has been carried out in Scotland to make definitive statements about the relationship between ethnicity and school attainment.

Concern about under achievement of bilingual pupils in California resulted in the

Proposition 227 legislation which required that bilingual pupils would receive an intensive English only education. An English only approach to the education of bilingual pupils has been demonstrated by Thomas and Collier (op.cit.) to be the least effective provision. Nevertheless English Only is a legitimate policy makers' response to bilingual pupils' educational needs and one which may inform teachers' thinking as they attempt to analyse best practice in a policy vacuum.

In a discussion of the continuing underachievement of bilingual pupils in Europe, Canada and the United States despite policy adaptations to supposedly address the needs of such pupils, Cummins (1986) proposes that the effects of provision for bilingual pupils need to be considered along a continuum of empowering to disabling bilingual pupils, arguing that four structural elements in the organisation of schooling contribute to the extent to which minority students are empowered or disabled:

incorporation of minority students' culture and language
inclusion of minority communities in the education of their children
pedagogical assumptions and practices operating in the classroom
assessment of minority students (Cummins, 1986: 24)

Cummins' model to aid a consideration of school provision for bilingual pupils is shown overleaf as Figure 1.1.

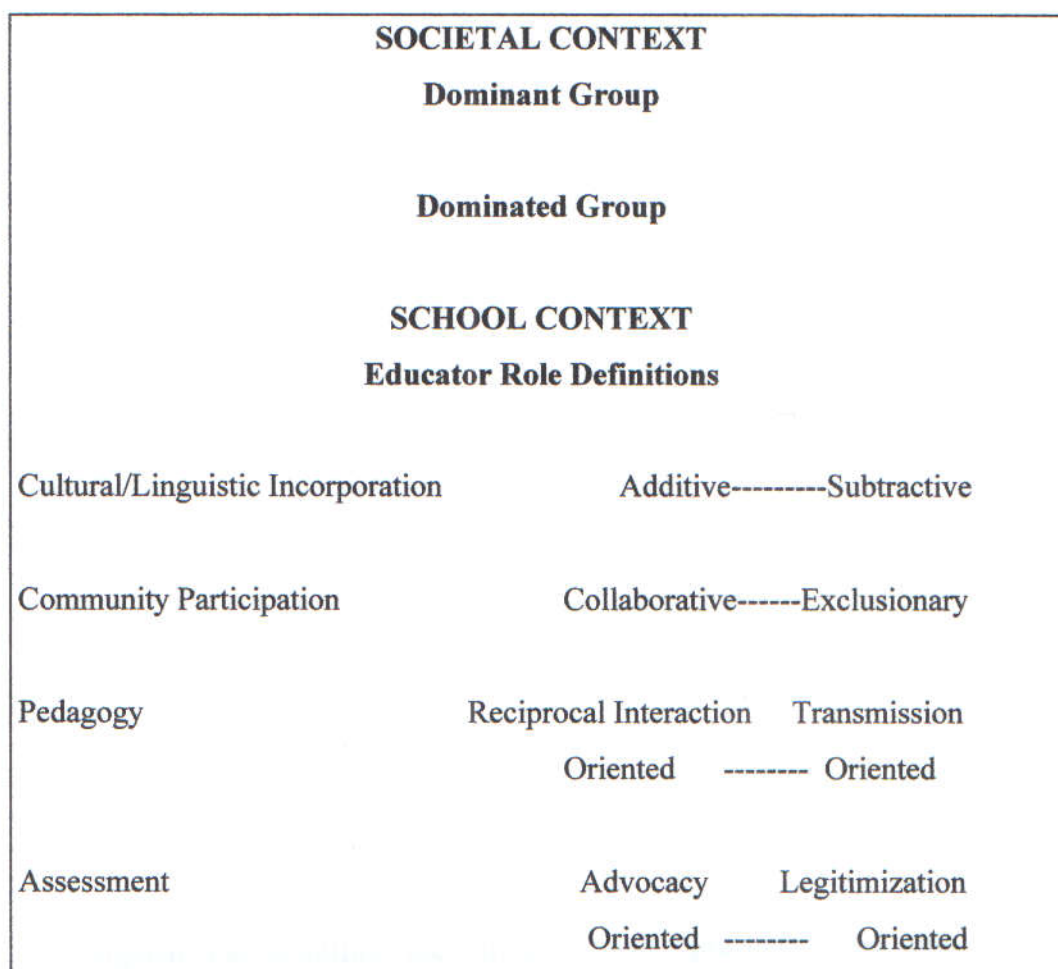


Figure 1.1: Cummins' Theoretical Framework for the Empowerment of Minority Students

The key point of Cummins' model is that the school should have a positive orientation towards bilinguals, seeing bilingualism as a positive resource rather than a problem. Wong (1996) argues for the use of Cummins' model as the starting point for the formulation of institutional policies but the implications of the model would seem to be that policy alone is not the only requirement when considering the effectiveness of a school in enabling its bilingual pupils to achieve maximum potential within the curriculum. Rather, as the micro-level of classroom pedagogy is also important, consideration needs to be given to the orientations and assumptions of the teachers, loosely guided by the four structural elements of schooling shown in figure 1.1.

As previously stated the research being reported in this thesis is not considering the achievement of bilingual pupils. However, the situation in the Scottish context of no explicit policy in many of the education authorities and limited preservice and inservice teacher education on meeting the needs of bilingual pupils is likely to mean that there is little understanding among many mainstream teachers about the processes of second language acquisition or how to plan to best meet the needs of bilingual children.

This could well contribute to underachievement in the Scottish context. Many of the teachers reported concerns that they did not know how best to support their bilingual pupils and expressed concerns that the children were not doing as well as they might with more informed support.

Where there is a history of working with bilingual children a tradition of good practice has often developed, influenced by the work of Wiles, Krashen, Cummins, Skutnabb-Kangas and others. The enquiry reported in this thesis investigated and identified the influences and practices when this body of knowledge does not exist. In many instances the influence of the English as an Additional Language (EAL) teachers was significant in forming mainstream teachers' views of best practice for bilingual pupils and this is further addressed in the discussion of findings.

Literacy Practices in Classrooms with Bilingual Pupils

As the classrooms in this research were all in the primary sector, a particularly important feature of the pedagogy in the classrooms was the approach taken to literacy. The research reported in this thesis was conducted in schools with small numbers of bilingual pupils. The exact numbers are indicated in table 2.2. (pages 45 – 47). All tasks and curricular materials were in English and all school work was expected to be produced in English. The emphasis of support for the bilingual pupils, as discussed in the analysis, was on equipping children with

what were seen as the essential skills for both oral communication and being literate in English, the dominant language.

Street (1988, 1994a, 1994b) has written extensively concerning the many forms which literacy takes and the cultural meanings applied to the term literacy. It was beyond the scope of this research to investigate the biliteracy of the pupils and their families. However certain cultural difficulties as regards a mismatch between home and school literacy practices are discussed in the analysis section 3.2.

Wells (1991) has alerted us to the reality that children's pre-school literacy experiences and expectations may differ widely from the implicit assumptions about literacy that are embodied in the curriculum. These implicit assumptions as regards what the teachers in the research considered children need to know in order to be literate are discussed in the analysis section 3.3.

Heath (1994) and Taylor (1994) have both indicated the ways in which young children learn about literacy in the home and the implications of this for schooling. Saxena (1994), Gregory (1996) and Kenner (1997) have demonstrated ways in which children's home literacy and school literacy practices may be combined for the benefit of the child. As discussed in the analysis there was no apparent combining of home and school literacy practices in place in the schools researched.

The focus of literacy practices in the schools researched was on the use of and response to the monolingual texts which had been in use since before any bilingual pupils came to the school. The literacy process was derived from a bottom - up model of reading which starts with individual letters and words in the

English language. This phonics based approach to reading, received widespread educational endorsement due to the work of Adams in the United States (1990), despite much subsequent criticism. Adams concluded that a phonics approach was the most effective method for ensuring that children made rapid progress with initial reading. In the context of this study it is important to note that the sounds and vocabulary items being used to teach literacy were not necessarily familiar to the bilingual pupils.

In Freire's (1983) terms, a "banking" or traditional model of education in regard to literacy was in place in the schools, with a focus on the surface features of English language and literacy. This approach was powerfully analysed by Freire (1972: 24), albeit in relation to adult literacy as "alienating --- having so little, if anything, to do with the students' sociocultural reality".

The approaches to literacy were a major result of the authorities' and schools' language policies which ignored the existence of bilingual pupils.

The Policy-Practice Interface

Phillipson (1988) argues that language policy or the lack of it in a country's educational system may lead to overt, covert, conscious or unconscious discrimination against languages, or linguicism (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988), that is the ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are defined on the basis of language (i.e. of their mother tongue).

Phillipson argues that linguicism may take many forms. Within the education system the banning of a given language in schools would be an example of overt linguicism. The de facto non-use of a language for instructional purposes is covert linguicism. The prevailing ideology of the system may be consciously or

unconsciously linguisticist, for example, teachers may consciously ban pupils from using the mother tongue or there may be an unconscious assumption that English is the ideal language for education.

The lack of a language policy in the schools in this study is shown to lead to certain languages not being used in teaching and learning (covert discrimination) and English being assumed to be the 'natural' language for education (unconscious discrimination).

Freeman (1996: 560) reminds the researcher that one can not assume that all participants in a particular institution embrace and act on official policy statements in the same way. The teachers in this research do not all act in the same way in the situation of no policy. Freeman argues further that any teachers of language (i.e. all primary teachers in Scotland) are in fact language planners who have considerable autonomy in the way they put the policy into practice in the classroom.

Moore (in Stierer and Coffin E902 Line Guide: 10-17) referring to his year long study of bilingual children in two secondary schools found it was less the organisation of the institution that influenced students' development and more the ways in which teachers worked with students and observed and assessed their development. The current study uncovered some of the folk theories which inform and influence the practices of the observed mainstream teachers in the chosen primary schools as regards bilingual children. However, local and individual pedagogical beliefs and practices are always located in the wider social and political context of teaching. A contributing factor to this context is the *approach to the education of bilingual children which is proposed in official policy documents*. My research is investigating teachers' beliefs in the context of an absence of official policy.

Constantino (1994) discusses the similarities and differences between the

knowledge bases of mainstream and English as a Second Language (ESL) secondary teachers in the United States concerning the theory and practice of bilingual education. In her interviews with six mainstream and five ESL teachers she found the mainstream, non-specialist teachers had very disparate opinions about language acquisition, resulting in the adoption of disparate practices in relation to the teaching of bilingual pupils. As will be read in the analysis section, within the context of my research the teachers held similar folk theories about the place of bilingualism in education. However, practices in my study were found to relate not only to the teachers' beliefs but also to what support systems for bilingual pupils were available in the six different authorities. The absence of policy and the differentiated provision in the six authorities was found to be a major factor in the adoption of disparate opinions and practices and, in some cases, lowered expectations of the bilingual pupils.

Constantino makes a direct connection between beliefs and practices, arguing that the ESL teachers' understandings of language acquisition as a two-way process of negotiated input and output lead them to utilise additional contextual support for the bilingual pupils while the mainstream teachers who had no clear beliefs about language acquisition had lowered expectations of the bilingual pupils. This reflects the findings of Gillborn and Gipps (op. cit.). Constantino however does not examine the reasoning behind teachers' beliefs, nor does she address practice in the context of a policy vacuum.

Constantino found mainstream teachers' understandings of second language acquisition was not adequate for meeting the needs of bilingual pupils. The need for mainstream teachers to understand second language acquisition and be equipped with strategies for teaching in multilingual classrooms is not adequately addressed in initial teacher education in either Scotland (Smyth & McKee, 1997) or England and Wales (Verma, Corrigan & Firth, 1995). Although Knowledge about Language and Language Acquisition and Development are addressed in the pre-service education of all teachers in Scotland it is largely a monolingual

English language perspective which is used (Smyth and McKee, op. cit.). It seems possible then that teachers' practices in relation to bilingual children will be informed by existing practice for monolinguals which could lead to a deficit view of bilingualism.

In order to investigate if this is the case it is important to try to identify teachers' beliefs about the needs of bilingual pupils. Work commissioned by NFER (Brittan, 1976) resulted in quantitative analysis of teacher attitudes to multicultural education. One of the findings of this research was that the majority of teachers did not believe that bilingual children would acquire a sufficient knowledge of English in mainstream classes alone. These findings were over twenty years ago and related to teachers in England and Wales but the belief may still hold power among mainstream teachers in Scotland who have not been specifically taught how to address the needs of bilingual pupils. I have not found work which qualitatively analyses the impact of these attitudes in the primary school which is what this research aimed to do in relation to twelve classrooms in six different local authorities in Scotland.

The classroom teacher in Scottish primary schools is the language planner in the micro-context of the classroom. For pupils who are learning to use English as an additional language Leung (1996:6) argues that the National Curriculum in England and Wales is

---- a de facto 'double curriculum': a curriculum of school subjects and a curriculum of the English language. In these circumstances pupils with English as an additional language are having to work to English native-speaker norms.

This often inappropriate language model, which can also be applied to the 5 - 14 curriculum guidelines in Scotland, may mean that the classroom teacher as language planner may be constrained to plan within monolingual norms, resulting in difficulty in defining achievement and setting targets for the bilingual pupils.

There is no research which considers the constraints for teachers of planning for bilingual pupils in the United Kingdom within this 'double curriculum'. The research reported in this thesis aimed to begin to fill this gap by considering how non-specialist mainstream teachers addressed the challenges of working with bilingual pupils in schools where there are only a few bilingual pupils and no history of support. The research aimed to discover what beliefs about best practice influenced their responses to the institutional constraints on their planning for bilingual pupils.

The research aimed to contribute to a theoretical understanding of what influences teachers' practices concerning the teaching of bilingual children. While much has been written particularly in the last twenty years regarding best practice for the education of bilingual children (e.g. Levine, 1990; Gibbons, 1991; Mills & Mills, 1993; Blackledge, 1994; Cummins, 1996; Gravelle, 1996) there has been no substantive work done in the Scottish context (SCRE, 1998). Some research has been conducted which records the opinions of teachers working in a context for which they may feel inadequately prepared (Nias, 1993 and Zeichner, Tabachnik and Densmore, 1987) but no work has been published regarding teachers opinions when teaching bilingual pupils in a context which has not prepared them for the multilingual reality of many classrooms, not only in Scotland.

Chapter 2

Research Methodology



Introduction

The research could have been undertaken using a deductive approach such as categorising in advance certain possible beliefs regarding bilingualism such as theories of Separate Underlying Proficiency versus Common Underlying Proficiency (Cummins 1996) and classifying teachers' responses to set questions accordingly.

This project however wished to discover teachers' beliefs not categorise them on a pre-set schema. It was decided to use a more inductive approach to the research in the hope of generating grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) in response to the question. Qualitative research is justified in areas of enquiry which, among other reasons, are driven by what or how questions, where exploration of an issue is desirable, where a detailed view is required and where the natural setting of a phenomenon is accessible (Cresswell, 1998). Each of these points pertains in this study. I wish to know *what* are the influences on mainstream teachers practices with bilingual children and *how* do these influences manifest themselves in practice. Given the lack of research in this area it is essential to get as detailed a picture as possible and provide thick descriptions of sites, beliefs and practices rather than a broad general picture which would not be able to explain the detail. As an ex practitioner in the field of directly supporting bilingual learners and as a professional with a known, current and active interest in the field I have access to the Bilingual Support Services of the Scottish education authorities. In my employment as a university lecturer I have the luxury of being able to do field research which is outwith my own workplace.

An inductive ethnographic approach is also appropriate for its ability to incorporate the evolving empirical world in which teachers' responses to bilingual pupils are situated, that is the context of demographic and political change in Scotland.

I decided to take a multiple site case-study approach to the data collection. The ethnographic methodology proposed to collect the data necessary for the research was tested in the pilot study conducted in 1996 for E835 and was revised in the light of this work. It was further tested in the preliminary study conducted in January 1998. The method I chose to conduct the research was to take field notes during four periods of non participant observation in each of the twelve classes and semi-structured interviews with the class teachers at the start and end of the research period. The data collection was spread over the school year 1998 - 99 with multiple visits to each site.

I chose to conduct the research by taking field notes during non participant observation in each of the twelve classes as in the pilot and preliminary studies and by conducting semi-structured interviews with the class teachers. Close observation enabled me to pay attention to detail and to consider both verbal and non-verbal behaviours. Four observational periods in each classroom at different times of the school week and year allowed me to see the reality of daily classroom life with its contradictions and inconsistencies. Semi-structured interviews allowed me to ask all the teachers the same questions but also explore in depth what was influencing their individual practices. Having observed in the classrooms prior to interviewing the teachers enabled the interviews to be grounded in real life events. As far as possible, interviews were conducted after the first observation period and after the final observation period. This enabled me in the final interview to check my understandings of previous data gathered and to discover if opinions had changed over the year. The combination of observations and interviews allowed for triangulation of the data.

The qualitative data gathered consists of field notes from four x half-day observations in each of two stages in six primary schools, and transcriptions of taped interviews with the fifteen class teachers of these twelve classes. Table 2.1 (page 43) shows when the data was collected. A sample field note can be found in Appendix 1. A sample of a transcribed interview is found in Appendix 2.

CLASS	DAY 1	DAY 2	DAY 3	DAY 4
1a	Mon. 16 Nov. am I (nr)	Mon. 11 Jan am	Thurs. 22 April am	Mon. 17 May am I
1b	Mon. 16 Nov. PM CT absent	Mon. 11 Jan PM	Thurs. 22 April am	Mon. 17 May PM I
2a	Mon. 25 Jan am	Wed. 3 March am I	Thurs. 29 April am	Fri. 11 June PM I
2b	Mon. 25 Jan PM CT absent	Wed. 3 March PM I	Thurs. 29 April PM I	Fri. 11 June am I (nr)
3a	Thurs. 19 Nov. am I	Thurs. 28 Jan am	Mon. 1 March am	Wed. 2 June am I
3b	Thurs. 19 Nov. PM I	Thurs. 28 Jan PM	Mon. 1 March PM	Wed. 2 June PM I
4a	Thurs. 10 Dec. am CT absent	Mon. 8 Feb. PM I	Wed. 21 April am	Mon. 7 June PM I
4b	Thurs. 10 Dec. PM I	Mon. 8 Feb. am	Wed. 21 April PM	Mon. 7 June am I
5a	Mon. 23 Nov. PM I	Fri. 8 Jan am	Mon. 26 April PM	Thurs. 10 June PM I (joint)
5b	Mon. 23 Nov. am I (nr)	Fri. 8 Jan PM	Mon. 26 April PM	Thurs. 10 June am I (x 3)
6a	Tues. 3 Nov. am I	Tues. 12 Jan PM	Mon. 22 March am	Wed. 5 May PM I
6b	Tues. 3 Nov. PM I	Tues. 12 Jan am I	Mon. 22 March PM	Wed. 5 May PM I (joint)

Table 2.1: Data collection times

CT ~ class teacher

I ~ interview undertaken (nr) ~ Interview not audio recorded

In order to address the research questions effectively, and in an attempt to create *grounded theory*, the research methods utilised stress *depth of information* over breadth. Thus while only twelve classrooms and seventeen teachers formed the sample for the research, the methods used yielded thick description of the sites. The combination of observation and interview helped to ensure that the perspective presented in the final analysis is not one which only reflects what I as the researcher consider to be the salient factors (Lacey, 1993).

I wished to discover the folk theories about bilingualism which influenced teachers' practice in the absence of policy. Therefore I chose schools which matched the criteria identified in the rationale for the research and specified on page 5.

Given the low numbers of bilingual pupils in the schools, the children were found at different stages in different schools although in all cases observations were conducted in an infant (Primary 1-3) and an Upper stage (Primary 4-7) class. Table 2.2 (pages 45 - 47) indicates the stages studied in each school. As the schools were in six different educational authorities, they had different experiences on which to build their approaches. Table 2.2 summarises the situation in the six authorities concerning policy and provision for bilingual pupils. The typical features of the schools were the lack of a specific authority policy regarding the education of bilingual children and the resultant lack of a clearly formulated school approach to meeting the needs of the bilingual pupils. These typical features were a guiding principle designed to increase the potential applicability of the research (Schofield, 1993: 99). Further descriptive detail of the research sites is provided in table 2.2 in order to enable 'naturalistic generalisation' (Stake, 1994: 240) which will enable the reader to construct knowledge about the field of enquiry discussed in this thesis.

Table 2.2: The Research Sites

Authority name and geographical features	Written authority policy for bilingual children	Authority provision for bilingual children	School	School policy for bilingual children	School location	Number of classes and class organisation	Teaching organisation features in school	Total number of bilingual pupils	Classes for research
North Ayrshire mainly rural with small seaside towns and rural hinterland	No	Off site 'Bilingual' unit attended by infant bilingual children four afternoons/week & 2 peripatetic EAL teachers	Kirk Primary	No	in seaside town	eleven Semi-open-plan infant area: five open bases and shared open activity area. Six closed upper school classes and shared open area.	EAL teacher visits school twice a week for one hour and extracts upper school bilingual pupils from class. A flexibility ¹ teacher is employed to assist in the infant classes each morning.	eight	infant Primary 1 upper Primary 7
South Ayrshire mainly rural with small seaside towns and ex-mining villages	Paragraph in Inclusive Education Policy	Off site 'Bilingual' unit attended by infant bilingual children four afternoons/week & 2 peripatetic EAL teachers	Noort Primary	No	in seaside town	sixteen separate closed classrooms	EAL teacher visits school twice a week for one hour and works in class with all pupils, bilingual or not.	seven	infant Primary 2 upper Primary 4

¹ Flexibility teachers are employed directly from a school's budget to ease staffing in particularly large classes.

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South Ayrshire mainly rural with small seaside towns and ex-mining villages	Paragraph in Inclusive Education Policy	Off site 'Bilingual' unit attended by infant bilingual children four afternoons/week & 2 peripatetic EAL teachers	Noort Primary	No	in seaside town	sixteen separate closed classrooms	EAL teacher visits school twice a week for one hour and works in class with all pupils, bilingual or not.	seven	infant Primary 2 upper Primary 4

¹ Flexibility teachers are employed directly from a school's budget to ease staffing in particularly large classes.

Table 2.2 continued

Authority name and geographical features	Written authority policy for bilingual children	Authority provision for bilingual children	School	School policy for bilingual children	School location	Number of classes and class organisation	Teaching organisation features in school	Total number of bilingual pupils	Classes for research
East Ayrshire mainly rural	No	Off site 'Bilingual' unit attended by infant bilingual children four afternoons/week & 2 peripatetic EAL teachers	Nanvale Primary	No	In the authority's only town	eleven Semi-open-plan infant and upper areas with open bases and shared open activity area	Ability group setting ² for language and maths. EAL teacher visits school twice a week for one hour and extracts upper school bilingual pupils from class.	six	infant Primary 1 upper Primary 5
Inverclyde part rural, part urban with large seaside towns. Light electronics industry is a major employer	No	1 peripatetic EAL teacher and 1 peripatetic Cantonese classroom assistant responsible to education officer in charge of Special Educational Needs	Fieldhead Primary	No	suburbs of large seaside town	twelve separate closed classrooms		four	

² Sets of children are drawn from three classes for these curricular areas and taught in one large ability set rather than ability groups within one class.

Table 2.2 continued

Authority name and geographical features	Written authority policy for bilingual children	Authority provision for bilingual children	School	School policy for bilingual children	School location	Number of classes and class organisation	Teaching organisation features in school	Total number of bilingual pupils	Classes for research
Renfrew mainly rural with villages, small commuter towns and one large university town	No	1.5 peripatetic EAL teachers responsible to education officer in charge of Special Educational Needs	Whatville Primary	No	small commuter town	fourteen semi-open- plan; each two-class stage shares a teaching base	two or three teachers per base - team teaching in all bases. EAL teacher visits school twice a week for one hour and extracts bilingual pupils from class.	five	infant Primary 2 upper Primary 5
Argyll and Bute mainly rural with agricultural and forestry areas, small fishing towns and some islands	No	None	Didmoon Primary	No	in the authority's administrative town Children are bussed in from outlying areas.	thirteen separate closed classrooms	School houses authority Learning Centre for children with 'profound, severe or moderate learning difficulties'		infant Primary 2 upper Primary 4, n.b. child attends Learning Centre all day.

Ethnographic Issues

As a teacher educator I design and deliver pre- and inservice courses on meeting the needs of bilingual learners. I hope that my research will give me a greater insight into the starting point of teachers in order that I may meet their needs more effectively in the courses that I deliver. I believe that ethnographic research which gives a voice to the teachers will enable me to do this in a way which quantitative methods, while perhaps able to cover a wider sample, would not. Woods (1986) has argued that ethnographic research offers teachers access to research and results that they consider worthy and of practical use in their teaching.

The nature of teaching and the beliefs held by teachers reflects the wider cultural and political context in which teachers are working. Only an ethnographic approach to my research questions can provide an understanding of the macro context of teachers' beliefs which is manifested in the micro context of the classroom.

The theoretical starting point for the analysis of the qualitative data gathered in this research is that teachers are constructors of their own meaning (Ball, 1993; Nias, 1993; Woods, 1996) and they bring to bear on events in the classroom a complex personal framework of beliefs and values which they have developed over their lives, not only in their teaching career, to categorize, characterise, explain and predict the events in their classrooms. As an analyst of these categories and explanations I was searching for meaning in what the teachers did in the classrooms, what they said in interview and the significance they give to their actions by discussing the observations in the interviews. I was searching for the cultural models (Gee, 1999) which serve to inform their beliefs and subsequent practices. Ethnographic research, combining observation and interview is the best way to uncover these cultural models which are often held unconsciously and can be unearthed by the ethnographic research process.

The National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum (NALDIC) research agenda (NALDIC, 1998: 17-19) prioritises six themes for research into research on issues related to school pupils with English as an Additional Language, including Effectiveness of the Mainstream, urging investigations into actual practice with regard to bilingual pupils in mainstream classrooms (ibid: 18).

The review of research into the education of minority ethnic groups in Scotland (Powney, McPake, Hall and Lyall, 1998) commissioned by the Scottish Office Education and Industry Department (SOEID) found that

although support for bilingual children's development of both their languages is growing --- there appears to be little research into Scottish practice in this regard (SCRE, 1998:4)

and a map of provision and good practices in supporting competence in English as a second (or other) language would be of considerable benefit (ibid: 7).

It is important in the light of the above that research in the area offers 'thick description' and generates useful concepts and theories. Surveys might not go far enough in revealing the changes and complexities in teachers' understandings.

In considering the data I have gathered I reconsidered the negative preconceptions I had originally admitted to holding (E835 research proposal) as regards to class teachers practice with bilingual pupils:

- * Class teachers are not clear about what to do with bilingual pupils.
- * Class teachers view an English language deficit as a learning deficit.
- * Class teachers do not adopt any specific curriculum input for bilingual children.
- * Class teachers do not acknowledge the mother tongue of the children.
- * Class teachers make cultural assumptions.
- * Class teachers are not very aware of pupils' linguistic backgrounds.

These were not intended in any way to focus my observations but rather as a reminder to myself of my initial thoughts in order that no unstated preconceptions coloured my observations or analysis (Delamont, 1992) . It was important for me to consider my preconceptions as without this explicit statement I may not have been so aware of the realities and constraints of practice. Reflection on these preconceptions proved a useful exercise when starting to interpret the data. I made conscious efforts not to let these preconceptions drive the analysis but rather to search for what the teachers were really saying and believing about the education of bilingual children. Had I not explicitly stated my preconceptions it might have been tempting to analyse the data with these as the unconscious foundations rather than the teachers' own beliefs. While some of these preconceptions were found to be the case as will be seen in the analysis of the data I found through doing this research why this was the case rather than laying the blame on individual teachers. Ball (1993:32) argues that the ethnographer requires not only to become engaged in the world being studied but also to suspend preconceptions and this could only be done by explicitly stating them at the start of the research process.

Choice of Sites for Fieldwork

Data related to the numbers of bilingual children was collated from the already available statistics relating to primary schools in the education authorities which until April 1996 made up Strathclyde region. In order to identify schools in which I wished to conduct the research I wished to find out the numbers of bilingual children in schools and whether or not the bilingual children have specific support from the authority by way of staffing and/or resourcing. This information is held by the Bilingual Support services in the authorities where such a body exists but specific requests for the data had to be made to the Directorates in those authorities which do not have such a service, e.g. those making up the former Argyll and Bute Division.

Only three of the twelve new authorities (Glasgow City, South Lanarkshire and

East Renfrewshire) have a specific policy in relation to the education of bilingual pupils. Observations were not conducted in any of these three authorities. Although all but Argyll and Bute Education Authority have a Bilingual Support Service these services are not comparable across authorities as regards staffing, remit or the existence of a designated head of service. In those authorities where the numbers of bilingual pupils are smaller (Argyll and Bute, Inverclyde, Renfrew and East, North and South Ayrshire) the bilingual children tend to be isolated in small numbers in the schools. This is often as a result of changing demographic patterns and results in bilingual pupils finding themselves in schools where the teachers have little experience or knowledge of bilingualism and neither the authorities nor the schools have any policy for their support. These six authorities with the smallest number of bilingual pupils were identified and chosen as the research focus.

Approaches were made to the Bilingual Support Service or the person with responsibility for the co-ordination of services for bilingual children in each of these authorities in order to identify a primary school which was typical of the kind of institution I wish to study, that is a primary school with a small number of bilingual pupils and no history of specific support for these pupils, and where the Headteacher might be open to the research being conducted. As a result one school was identified in each of the six authorities and the process of data collection negotiated. The names of all the schools, staff and pupils are pseudonyms adopted for the purpose of the research.

Ethical Issues

Dockrell (1988) describes ethical considerations in research in relation to the subjects and customers of the research and also to colleagues and the research community. The immediate purpose of this research being a doctoral thesis means that it is the subjects which have to be primarily considered at this stage. The most immediate subjects of the research are the teachers in the classrooms in which I observed and I had to ensure that they knew what I was asking of them in

terms of time commitment and also, particularly given my employment involves observing and assessing student teachers in classrooms, that my role was one of researcher and not of assessor. These aspects were discussed with the teachers concerned prior to undertaking the research. The schools themselves were also less directly the subjects of the research and I described my expectations and role to headteachers at the time of negotiating access, both to ensure them of confidentiality and also to clarify that my role would not involve reporting back on individual teachers' practices. I also needed to ensure that I did not offer any benefit that I could not deliver in the way of, for example, inservice provision to the participating schools. It could be argued that the pupils were also the subjects of the research. However I was not conducting interviews with the pupils and did not consider that I would require permission from the parents to observe in the classrooms when I had already gained permission from the schools. Many of the pupils (bilingual and monolingual) of course asked who I was and what I was doing in which cases I replied that I was finding out all the things that happened in their classroom during the day.

As a result of the pilot research conducted for E835 I decided that each classroom would need more than one period of observation in order that the observations would sample across a range of contexts in any one class, i.e. different curricular areas and styles of learning. In order to ensure this I requested copies of the class timetables during the initial access period.

The aim was to employ naturalistic sampling of cases to cover places, times and persons (Ball, 1993: 38) in a systematic and intentionally guided way but I recognise the difficulties of this in qualitative research by a single researcher. Opportunistic sampling sometimes proved necessary when, for example school trips or shows or teacher absence limited the days available for research, which were of course already limited by the fact of my being in full time employment. In addition the bilingual children in three of the classes went to an off site language unit every afternoon and therefore it was only suitable to observe in

those classes in the mornings when the bilingual pupils were present.

The information collected from observation resulted in thick description of the sites studied in order to provide the reader with the information necessary to enable informed judgments to be made about the extent of fit with other situations (Schofield, 1993: 100). Further detail about each of the sites is embedded in the analysis section and brief information concerning the situation in each site is tabulated in table 2.2.

The Headteachers of the six schools, in Argyll and Bute, East Ayrshire, Inverclyde, North Ayrshire, Renfrew and South Ayrshire were contacted by telephone and told about my research. All the Headteachers initially approached were in agreement to my conducting the research in the school and I arranged an initial visit to the school in order to meet informally with the Headteacher, further explain the purpose and conduct of the research and what exactly my role would be, i.e. observer-researcher, not observer-assessor, answer any questions he or she may have regarding the research and set up dates for the data collection.

At this initial meeting I gave the Headteacher an information sheet regarding the aims and method of the research. This was followed up with a letter confirming the arrangements agreed for the data collection.

The research was conducted in classes and with teachers which were identified by the Headteacher as being the most appropriate, that is, classes having a small number of bilingual pupils and a teacher who would be willing to be involved in the research. Negotiating the dates was not without difficulty due to the many other events which take place during the primary school year, for example Primary 7 swimming, theatre visits and sports days.

Research Practice

At the micro level the research focused on evolving a description of the methods and approaches being used by mainstream class teachers to meet the needs of bilingual pupils and an analysis of what informed these practices for teachers working in the macro-context of a lack of explicit policy for support for bilingual pupils. At this micro-level of classroom experience, the research aimed to answer the following questions:

- What are class teachers' perceptions of the linguistic and cultural needs of bilingual children and how have these perceptions been formulated?
- What approaches and methods do class teachers adopt to meet the needs of bilingual children?

A first full day's data collection in a school consisted of a morning observing in the infant classroom, taking detailed field notes of the teacher's interactions with and provisions for the bilingual child and of the bilingual child/children's interaction with the curriculum, teacher(s), peers and resources. The afternoon was then spent similarly observing in the upper school classroom. The observations were only loosely structured as their main purpose was to help me to understand the teacher's context. Delamont (1992:12) suggests a short period of general scanning in the classroom as it is not possible to observe and record everything going on for any length of time in a useful way followed by paying close attention to a selective set of phenomena. This was how I attempted to undertake the observations on each occasion, focusing at times on the teacher, at times on the bilingual child(ren) and at times on the whole class situation. I noted the time regularly in my fieldnotes. A sample fieldnote from the second day's observation in Whatville Primary (Primary 2) is provided as Appendix 1 to this thesis.

My observations were focused by having specified the focus of my research, evolved questions from this specification and by use of the analytical tool

provided by Baker’s (1996:278-281) list of issues for consideration in relation to the second language acquisition of bilingual pupils (see figure 2.1 below). Acknowledging that there are a range of methods used to enable learners to acquire a second language, Baker proposes there are ten overlapping and interlinking issues around which language teaching methods and approaches are arranged. As I was considering what are the cultural models held by teachers in relation to the teaching of bilingual children, this list seemed a useful starting point for observations and interviews.

- | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | Theory of what constitutes a second language |
| 2. | Theory of how children and adults best learn a language |
| 3. | Second language classroom goals |
| 4. | Language syllabus |
| 5. | Classroom activities |
| 6. | Teacher's role |
| 7. | Learner's role |
| 8. | Materials and facilities available |
| 9. | Forms of assessment |
| 10. | Contexts of second-language learning |

Figure 2.1: Ten Dimensions of classroom Language Learning (adapted from Baker, 1993)

Further advice from Delamont (op. cit.) was followed in respect of providing a useful ethnographic record by recording room layout, timing of events and verbatim speech. I was thus able to make good use of my observation time in the classrooms. I recorded a classroom plan in each room, noted who was present and made notes on classroom displays and resources. This evidence would enable readers to become familiar with the setting.

I spent intervals and lunchtimes in the staffroom. I believe this was vital in order that I was accepted as a researcher and not viewed as an intruder. The staff room

also yielded valuable information regarding school ethos and orientation to bilingualism and was often the initial source of further enquiry to be pursued.

Post- observation interviews immediately following the first and final observations, where possible, were conducted to begin to address the teachers' beliefs about bilingualism. Interviews were tape recorded as far as possible and transcribed thereafter. Table 2.1 indicates those occasions when interviews could not be tape recorded. For the first interview I devised a list of core questions that I asked all of the teachers. These questions (below) were derived from a consideration of Baker's (figure 2.1) schema along with a consideration of some of the possible influences on teachers' practice.

- *How long have you been teaching?*
- *How many bilingual pupils have you taught during your teaching career?*
- *Do you recall any pre-service or inservice training on working with bilingual pupils?*
- *Does/do the bilingual child(ren) in your class receive any specific support from anyone other than you?*
- *Do you receive any specific support for working with bilingual children?*
- *Do you use any specific curriculum materials with the bilingual child(ren)?*
- *Do you know the booklet 'Languages for Life'? (I showed the booklet at this point.)*
- *What do you wonder about when you are teaching the bilingual child(ren)?*
- *What are your aims for the bilingual child(ren)?*
- *How would you assess the child(ren)'s language needs?*
- *How would you assess their English language development?*
- *Do you think the child(ren)'s bilingualism helps or hinders their educational development?*
- *Is/are the child(ren) literate in their first language?*
- *Does/do the child(ren) go to community language school?*
- *For what purposes and audiences does/do the child(ren) use their first language?*

- *Is there anything else you have noticed or wondered about when teaching the child(ren)?*

These interviews helped me to become progressively more aware of the challenges, constraints and influences that the teachers wished to talk about and of the folk theories which informed the teachers' practices. Ensuring that I asked the same questions of all respondents allowed me to compare data across and between stages and authorities. A sample transcription of a tape recorded interview with Karen from the first day of the research in Whatville Primary (Primary 2) is attached as Appendix 2 to this thesis.

I also wished to gain the teacher's perspective on any particularly interesting issues in the observed lessons. In order to do this effectively my field notes incorporated queries I wished to follow up with the class teacher, a technique I developed during the pilot research conducted for E835. Thus I asked the teachers about their understandings rather than assuming I knew merely by observing their overt behaviour in the classroom. I negotiated time for the interview with the class teacher and the headteacher. I did not wish participation in the research to add to the teachers' workload, particularly in a time of impending industrial action regarding conditions of service, therefore as far as possible I arranged interviews during work time and cover was arranged for the class. In order to tape record the interviews with minimal distraction they were usually conducted in an area such as the headteacher's office or the library if it was not being used. The venue, the process of being interviewed and the fact of audio recording may have had an initial influence on the respondent and I usually started off talking to the teacher about my research rather than going straight to interview mode. This allowed me to explain further the purpose of the research and my interest in the topic, thus increasing the likelihood of getting good data (Jones, 1985a:48) which would yield valid answers to my research questions. While ensuring that all my core questions were asked I tried to make the interview as natural as possible in order to yield the maximum information (Nias,

1993). The majority of the teachers were very willing to talk although their focus was often on the bilingual child rather than themselves and I had to carefully steer the discussion back to their own practice and beliefs by asking for examples of behaviour or situations which illustrated the terms they use to describe the bilingual child.

Although I had a structure for the interview in terms of the core questions above the questions were formulated in a way which allowed the teachers to answer in their own terms rather than the rigidity which a more structured interview would impose. More closed questions would imply that I had decided in advance what was important and relevant about the research topic, rather than trying to identify what the teachers viewed as meaningful and significant. The dialogue of the interviews allowed me to achieve a depth of meaning which would not be possible in a questionnaire. However a potential contribution of this project due to the depth of responses would be to aid the design of a survey questionnaire which could be used for greater breadth of response.

The central focus of the research was neither the classroom itself nor the bilingual learners but the teachers. I am not intending to make claims related to the micro context of the classroom but concerning the beliefs about best practice of mainstream teachers working with bilingual children in the macro context of contemporary Scottish education. My in depth field notes, annotated with queries at the time of observation, enabled me to consider how the beliefs were exemplified in practice and I was able to use these observations to discuss my research questions with the class teachers. On each period of observation it became increasingly clear to me that the teachers welcomed having someone to discuss their practice with and that the quality of this discussion was improved because I had been there observing the micro-context which was informed and influenced by the macro situation in which the teachers are working, rather than interviewing them in a vacuum or asking them to respond to a written questionnaire. Thus the interviews and observations were interdependent. The

observations enabled me to observe how the teachers responded to the needs of the bilingual pupils but they also informed the interviews and informal discussions with the teachers which allowed me to access their folk theories about bilingualism in education. This also means that what the teachers said was influenced by the fact that I had been in the classroom and that they perceived me as someone with whom they could discuss their practice and look for solutions. They may well have articulated beliefs which they would not have done had I not asked them but the many similarities in what was said across the six education authorities suggests that what the teachers said were deeply held cultural models, whether conscious or not. As the transcripts of the interviews show the interviews were certainly co-constructions in which both myself and the interviewees had ownership. The semi-structured nature of the interviews allowed me to ask my core questions in a flexible way but enabled the teachers also to ask questions and to try out their ideas. The issues which were present for the teachers in their classrooms as a result of the bilingual pupils were shared and discussed rather than the teachers responding to set questions which they could have done by answering what they thought I wanted to hear.

As soon as practicable after each observation session I reviewed the fieldnotes, wrote them out in full and colour coded them to indicate further questions, possible themes and links with the literature. Thus my review of the field notes involved a preliminary analysis of this data which began the process of developing grounded theory (Burgess, 1982). As I wrote out the field notes I annotated questions I had about my interpretation of events and would have liked to be able to discuss further with the class teacher. For this reason I decided from the preliminary study that the complete study would require further post-observation interviews with the teachers to clarify perceptions and validate the evidence. On the final day of observation in each class I conducted a second interview to seek respondent validation of the accuracy of my interpretations of observed events related to the questions I had annotated to the field notes. On each day in the school I also recorded notes of conversations with the class

teacher. Jones (1985a:53) argues that more than one interview allows deeper exploration of the topic and provides evidence of commitment to the person and the topic by the researcher.

The resultant data from observations and interviews highlighted the need for further data collection. I also tape recorded interviews with support teaching staff involved with the bilingual children in three of the schools.

The focus of all this data collection was to inform my central enquiry, that is, what are the beliefs about best practice which influence non-specialist mainstream class teachers when teaching bilingual pupils and how have these beliefs been formed? I collated the information about the methods and approaches used in the twelve multilingual classrooms and the teacher responses concerning the rationale for their approaches to the teaching of bilingual pupils. The resultant data is analysed in the following chapter.

Method of Analysis - the Macro-context

A consideration of the responses to questions 1 - 5 (page 7), gleaned from local authority statements, school handbooks and teacher responses to questions about support provision, enabled an initial analysis of the macro context in which Scottish primary teachers are working. Table 2.2 provides a summary of the context in which the teachers in the research were working in each of the sites chosen for the research. *This relates to the information gathered in response to questions 1, 2, 3 and 4 posed on page 7.*

As can be seen from table 2.2, this context was that, at the time of the research, there was little by way of policy for the education of bilingual children in the authorities under consideration in this research. Policy documents in five of the six authorities made no mention of provision for bilingual pupils. Bilingual pupils were mentioned in the Inclusive Education policy of one authority.

Specialist staffing provision for bilingual pupils has been reduced since the new authorities were formed in 1996 so that the peripatetic teachers are spread very thinly. Five of the six authorities employ peripatetic English as an Additional Language (EAL) teachers who are deployed to individual schools which request support for a bilingual pupil. In three of these authorities the EAL teachers are responsible to the Head of the Bilingual Unit. In the remaining two authorities the EAL teachers are responsible to the Education Officer in charge of Special Educational Needs. The EAL teachers work directly with the pupils rather than with the class teachers. This work is within the mainstream class in one school, but more frequently withdrawing the pupils to another location within the school. Three of the authorities have offsite 'bilingual' units, attended on a part-time basis by newly arrived bilingual pupils and new school entrants who are bilingual. In each of these authorities, the schools in this research had infant children attending the 'bilingual' units four afternoons a week. None of the teaching staff of these units were bilingual at the time of the research and the focus of work for the bilingual pupils was on English language development. None of the educational provision in the authorities is aimed at advice on working with bilingual pupils for the mainstream teachers.

This preliminary analysis found that the societal context of Scottish education is a monolingual context, with English as the dominant and dominating linguistic culture.

Table 2.3, page 62, provides a summary of the information gathered in response to question 5 posed on page 7. This indicates that the teachers in the sample have had minimal pre-service or inservice input related to meeting the needs of bilingual children. This applies to all the teachers irrespective of the nature of their initial qualification or the length of time since graduation.

TEACHER	YEARS SERVICE	BILINGUAL CHILDREN TAUGHT PREVIOUSLY	PRE-SERVICE TEACHER EDUCATION	PRE-SERVICE INPUT ON BILINGUAL LEARNERS	INSERVICE INPUT
Janet	18	1	3 years Dip.Ed	none	none
Jackie	13	none	1 year PGCE	none	none
Jenna	4	1	4 years B.Ed	none	none
Megan	20	none in last 12 years; some previously in Glasgow	3 years Dip.Ed	none	none
Morag	11	3	3 years Dip.Ed	some input on cultural difference	none, but involvement in authority guideline preparation
Lotty	30	4	3 years Dip.Ed	none	none
Mary	26	4	3 years Dip.Ed	none	none
Gwen	30	1	3 years Dip.Ed	none	none
Karen	13	none	1 year PGCE	none	none
Morven	25	2	3 years Dip.Ed	none	none
Cath	23	2	3 years Dip.Ed	none	none
Ellen	29	2	3 years Dip.Ed	none	half day with ESL teacher
Claire	10	2	4 years B.Ed	some input on cultural difference	none
Anja	12	4	3 years Dip.Ed	none	none
Iona	4	none	4 years B.Ed	Bilingualism mentioned in SEN input	none
Pam	12	2	3 years Dip.Ed	none	2 days organised for Gaelic medium teachers
Elsie	28	none	3 years Dip.Ed	none	none

Table 2.3: Teachers' experience

Cummins' (1986:24) theoretical framework for the empowerment of minority students, as discussed in the literature review (page 31-32) was used as a conceptual tool for this macro-analysis.

The policies, guidelines and support mechanisms which do exist in the six researched schools are described within this framework of empowerment in the chapter on findings. The research thus suggests the authorities' and schools stances on the structural elements identified by Cummins.

The methods and approaches in use in the authorities to meet the needs of bilingual pupils were analysed in terms of their orientation to the first three elements described in the Cummins' model, that is, cultural and linguistic incorporation, community participation and classroom pedagogy. Although much of the data found in the research related to assessment practices an analysis of orientation to assessment, the fourth element of Cummins' model, was beyond the scope of this research.

Method of Analysis - the Micro-context

The analysis undertaken enables the beginnings of an explanation for the practices adopted in relation to bilingual pupils in Scotland at the macro-level. However the bulk of the analysis relates to the data resulting from the classroom observations and teacher interviews and considers the cultural models held by teachers at the micro-level as regards the education of bilingual pupils.

In considering the beliefs regarding best practice held by teachers in multilingual classrooms within this macro-context the first question which an analysis of the data needed to address was derived from questions 6 and 7 on page 7 of this thesis:

- * Given the absence of official policy and the minimal preservice or inservice education for teachers working with bilingual pupils, how do class teachers

attempt to meet the demands of the multilingual primary classroom?

Answers to this question were sought through analysis of the data collected in the observations and interviews. The analysis of this qualitative data involved difficult processes of interpretation. The aim of the analysis was to understand the challenges and constraints of, and the influences on, teaching in multilingual classrooms from the point of view of the non-specialist mainstream teacher. Theory which is grounded in the concepts and theorising of the people it is about is likely to fit and work as the basis for explanation (Strauss & Corbin, 1990: 23). In order to generate this theory inductively from the interview data I initially used a process of cognitive mapping (Jones, 1985b), that is, I tried to create a model of each teachers' beliefs in diagrammatic form by mapping data straight from my taped interviews. As I mapped I was listening for teachers' own explanatory theories about the influences on their practice and the challenges and constraints of working with bilingual pupils. I coded each interview onto one A1 sheet of paper, with transcripts representing the interviewees' description of their situation on post-its; arrows indicating causal and connotative links and my annotations of additional contextual data. Beside this I noted any apparent contradictions in the data and connections with existing theory. The resultant map, notes and field notes then provided a body of evidence which represented my inferences and interpretation of the data. Jones (op. cit.) argues that this mapping process helps to fracture the data in a way which would not be achieved by a linear transcription but also manages to retain a sense of connection between the respondent's ideas.

Major categories emerging at this early stage of the analysis were concerned with the challenges of cultural difference and gaps in teacher-pupil understanding; the constraints of home links without a shared language and the influences of special needs methodology in the absence of understanding of appropriate methodology for the bilingual child.

When I tried to then write about my analysis however I discovered that I was mapping and structuring the data within my own a priori definitions rather than being sensitive to the categories deriving from the concepts of the research participants themselves. This was partly due to my own inexperience with this form of data analysis, but partly due also to the frequent requests I was receiving from local authorities and professional bodies to report on the research. As a result I was immersed in the data rather than being able to stand back from it. I was reporting findings that matched the requests of the audience rather than analysing the data. It became clear that full transcripts would be necessary as my maps inevitably picked out what I wanted to hear and inadvertently missed out much of relevance. I needed to find an analytical approach which would incorporate an *ethnography of communication* (Saville-Troike, 1989)

The next step then was to consider each transcript as a whole discourse and analyse these in order to unearth the craft knowledge which informed teachers' responses to bilingual pupils. Brown and McIntyre (1989:5) define 'craft knowledge' as

that part of their professional knowledge which teachers acquire primarily through their practical experience in the classroom rather than their formal training, which guides their day-to-day actions in classroom, which is for the most part not articulated in words and which is brought to bear spontaneously, routinely and sometimes unconsciously on their teaching.

Freeman (1996) used an intertextual discourse analysis of what was said in teacher interviews and written in policy statements and curricular materials to analyse how Oyster Bilingual School's two-way Spanish-English language plan functions in its sociopolitical context. While Freeman was interested in broadly similar questions to those addressed in my research, her specific situation was quite different, focusing on one school with a very coherent bilingual education policy. The discourse I needed to analyse was that of the teachers interviews and practice without written policy statements.

Batten's (1993) study of twelve Australian teachers analysed the unstructured interviews about the application of teachers' craft knowledge and formed a pedagogical profile for each teacher. However this was based on teachers reflecting on and talking about the positive aspects of their teaching, whereas my research involved teachers reflecting on and talking about an area of their teaching in which they had little knowledge or experience. Thus while Batten's data collection methodology (observation of teaching and interviews) and sample (twelve teachers) were similar to mine, the analytical method she used was not appropriate for my attempt to divine what guided the teachers' responses to bilingual pupils. Batten's analysis focused on the teachers themselves whereas I needed to find an analytical method which would not focus on the teachers' lack of experience with bilingual pupils.

In his discussion of the strengths of qualitative methods in educational research, Hargreaves (1986: 149) argues that by analysing "the complex commonsense knowledge of members of society" we are "provided with a language for speaking about that which is not normally spoken about" and that "teacher skills rest upon this tacit knowledge" to a great extent. As a teacher educator I am interested in unearthing this 'tacit knowledge' and I needed an analytical method which would enable me to do this.

Discovery of Gee (1999) via my supervisor's introduction aided me in my hitherto vainly floundering search as to what to do next with a rather uncoordinated set of material. I had hoped the data would somehow magically provide the "prolific seed-bed for creativity" which Nias (1993:44) had found in her data. Gee (op. cit.: 43) defines cultural models as "everyday people's explanations or theories" which are rooted in the practices of socioculturally defined groups of people. Cultural models are often totally or partly unconscious and help to explain why words and concepts have different situated meanings for different groups of people. My research wanted to discover the

situated meaning applied to bilingual pupils in Scottish education by monolingual teachers who are teaching in a macro-context of monolingual educational policies and practices. The way to do this was to use cultural models as an analytical tool for the discourses of the interviews.

Using Gee's suggestions (op. cit.: 78) I applied these questions to the interview data in order to elicit the cultural models which non-specialist teachers held about their bilingual pupils:

- **What cultural models are relevant here? What must I as an analyst assume people feel, value and believe, consciously or not, in order to talk --- this way?**
- **How consistent are the relevant cultural models here? Are there competing or conflicting cultural models at play?**

These questions were applied to the transcripts of the interviews. Consistency and conflict were considered within each teacher's responses and between teachers, stages and authorities.

I then wished to discover if and how these cultural models affected teachers' practice in relation to their bilingual pupils by asking

- **Are there differences between the cultural models that are affecting espoused beliefs and those that are affecting actions and practices?**

Using the cultural models that appeared to have relevance from an analysis of the interview transcripts I applied this question to the observational field notes. This allowed me to consider consistencies and conflicts between what was said and what was done.

The next chapter discusses the analysis which resulted from using cultural models as a tool to analyse the teachers' discourse.

Chapter 3

Analysis of the Data



Introduction

The data resulting from this research (interview transcripts, observational field notes and school policy documents) reveals many insights into the educational experiences of bilingual children. The main concern of this research however is what informs teacher responses to bilingual children in their classrooms and so the interview transcripts were the prime site for analysis, with field notes and policy documents being used to show the potential sources and implications of beliefs, thus adding validity to the study through coverage (Altheide and Johnson, 1994; Gee, 1999).

A myriad of ideas can be seen in the data as to teachers' thinking about bilingual pupils. Some of these are common to a number of the teachers and some are individual. In the analysis I was trying to identify the cultural models or 'taken-for-granted assumptions' (Gee, 1999) which teachers have in relation to their bilingual pupils. Cultural models are not necessarily always consistent as they have been formed in a sociocultural context which varies for every individual. While all the teachers in this research share a sociocultural context, there are individual variations.

Gee suggests (1999:69) that there may be master models, that is "sets of associated cultural models, that help shape and organise large and important aspects of experience for particular groups of people". By applying the questions outlined on page 57 of this thesis to the discourses in the interview transcripts, I discovered that there was a powerful master model influencing teachers' practice in relation to bilingual pupils as well as a number of associated cultural models which derived from this master model. In this thesis I discuss the master model from which the others derive and two of the derived cultural models. For each model I discuss what it means, how this analysis was drawn from the discourse and the effects of the model in action.

The Cultural Models under Analysis

Discourse analysis of the interview transcripts found that the master model which informed teachers' practice in the context being researched was that **Bilingual Pupils Need To Become Monolingual To Succeed.**

This master model helped to shape and organise the teachers' beliefs and led to a number of related cultural models. This thesis discusses two of these:

Parents who do not speak English hinder the child's academic progress, by definition, their ability to become monolingual.

Those bilingual learners who do not fit the master model i.e. those who do not operate monolingually in the dominant language are problematic and require learning support.

There were overlaps and contradictions in the way teachers expressed their adherence to these cultural models but there is enough evidence for each to suggest that they are distinct models, derived from the master model, which were used to inform teachers' beliefs and practices in relation to the bilingual pupils in their classrooms.

3.1 The Master Model: Bilingual Pupils Need To Become Monolingual To Succeed

What does this mean?

As previously defined within the terms of this thesis a bilingual pupil uses two or more languages in their everyday life. The pupils in the research sites used Chinese languages, Punjabi, Urdu or Hindi at home and used English in school. While I used the term bilingual to describe the pupils and explained what I meant by this, it was not a term that was used naturally by the teachers. This was in part due to the fact that each teacher was only teaching one or two bilingual pupils and referred to them most often by name. However it was also due to none of the school policies giving any place to the special nature of bilingualism

or the needs of bilingual pupils.

Few of the teachers (see table 2.3) had had any pre-service input on the needs of bilingual pupils and those that had reported that this had been a mention in a Special Educational Needs course. All the teachers were monolingual. The entire curriculum in terms of material, delivery, output from the pupils and assessment was monolingual. These facts drove the need for pupils to operate monolingually in English in school and this was neither challenged nor questioned by the teachers.

This master model led to a subconscious categorisation of the bilingual learners by the mainstream teachers as fitting or not fitting the model, i.e. they did or did not operate monolingually in the dominant language. The pedagogical implications of this belief are discussed in the final section of the data analysis. This distinction and categorisation was a common one, used by the teachers to categorise whether the bilingual child in the classroom presented the teacher with any specific challenges. The child's' ability in, use of, or literacy in their first language was not considered by the teachers when describing the bilingual children.

In an interesting example of this categorisation, Megan (M in the transcript below), the primary 4 teacher at Noort Primary, initially indicated she had not worked with any bilingual children prior to W., a Cantonese speaking boy in her class at the time of the research (W. is referred to as *the first* in line 4 below):²

1 R Have you worked with any other bilingual children?

M No.

R This is the first?

M *This is the first.* I spent about the first 9 years teaching in Glasgow

² In all the transcript extracts, R is the Researcher and italics are used to highlight significant points discussed in the analysis.

- 5 but it was in the schemes, the peripheral schemes, it was C and then E (names two areas in Glasgow) where you tend to have very few (bilingual children, implied).

Interview Megan 1, 3.3.99

Megan later recalled that she had in fact had bilingual children in her class a number of years ago in Glasgow (lines 1-2, below). However as their language, i.e. English, *was well established* and they did not require specific support (lines 3 - 5) she had not referred to them when I asked my initial question. Megan has categorised W. as not fitting the master model, i.e. unlike the previous children, his language (*sic*) is not well established. This has led to Megan encountering a *challenge* for which she does not feel equipped (lines 5 - 7).

- 1 M *I had two Pakistani boys in the class, one Indian girl, one Chinese girl. --- and all of these children started school with not a word of English but I had these girls and boys at Primary 6 and by that time the language was well established. There were no problems, they*
 5 *didn't need the support. So I have never been in the situation where I feel this challenge and I don't really feel as though, --- I still feel that I don't have the background.*

Interview Megan 1, 3.3.99

Consideration of the field notes for all twelve classes showed that a high proportion of time at school was spent by the children on individual text-based work. In all the classes, the bulk of the morning was devoted to language and maths work, largely drawn from commercially published schemes of work. In three of the schools the bilingual children in the infant classes were extracted to the Bilingual Support Unit four afternoons a week, so an even higher proportion of their time in school was spent on individual text-based work than the rest of the children. As this work was all written in English and required responses in English this confirmed for the teachers that the main need for the children was the English of the curriculum.

None of the six school policies made any mention of children who operated in languages other than English, although two of the schools' policies referred to the teaching of Modern European languages. Two of the schools had posters and/or signs in communal areas of the school in languages other than English but there were no curriculum materials or classroom resources in any language other than English.

All the teachers interviewed expressed a desire for the children to fit in and not feel isolated but when this aim was analysed in the light of the interviews and the teachers' practices it seemed that in order to fit in the onus was on the child to operate monolingually in English. This master model has been alluded to in other work related to the education of bilingual children (Biggs and Edwards, 1994) although not explicitly named or explained. The master model was not only held by individual teachers but is embedded in education provision in Scotland, which at the time of writing does not consider the needs of bilingual pupils in national policy statements.

The Master Model in Action

Few of the teachers had heard any of the children using their first language. In Didmoon Primary, A, a Chinese speaking boy, is taught in the Learning Support Centre by Elsie, a Learning Support teacher. Elsie refers to A's occasional use of his first language as *bursts of Chinese*:

- E I mean you got *the bursts of the Chinese* and you got *the bursts of the singing*, you got the up and down looking out the window and so on.
- R Do you notice him using Chinese a lot?
- E *He will burst into it* from time to time.
- R Any idea what?

E *He will burst into Chinese song.*

Interview Elsie 1, 12.1.99

Elsie's use of the word *burst* suggests that she views A's use of Chinese as an out of control response rather than as a useful learning tool and an asset. Elsie repeats this view of A's use of Chinese during our second interview:

1 E Speaking wise he has certainly improved, I mean he can make quite,
 he's made vast progress there, he's em, you know, he's almost
 getting into sentences now, he's really doing very very well there so
 I can't complain you know language wise. He can understand a lot
 5 more and I think he's happier for it because he can make himself
 understood now. We still get *lapses back into Chinese*, we'll get
 some songs and we stand up and do you know a few actions and but
 if you let him go through the song he then comes back and sits down
 and works.

Interview Pat and Elsie 1, 5.5.99

Elsie substituted the word 'language' for English language (line 4) and her reference to 'almost --- (speaking) --- sentence's (lines 2-3) was in relation to A's use of spoken English. She did not appear to consider the fact that A is vocal in Chinese to be of any positive benefit in the learning situation. A's Chinese singing was tolerated and contrasted with 'work' (line 9) which was done in the English language. The substitution of the word 'language' for 'English language' is one which is made by a number of the teachers working in the monolingual context under investigation.

Elsie recognised that A's behaviour difficulties may have been caused by his frustrations at not being understood but she did not have any strategies for enabling A to express himself in his first language:

E I think that's what a lot of the problem was, his frustration at not being

understood and no matter how hard I tried if he spoke to me in Chinese I just, I kept saying “No, Mrs. G not understand, not speak Chinese”.

Interview Pat and Elsie 1, 5.5.99

Although Elsie expressed frustrations herself at not being able to understand A, the cultural model ultimately being expressed here was that it is the child's responsibility to be understood but this must be done in a way which conforms to school norms, i.e. in English.

Pat, the Senior Teacher in the Learning Centre expressed views grounded in a similar cultural model to Elsie, but, as the only teacher interviewed who had attended inservice on the needs of bilingual children, her beliefs have been informed by influences in addition to the cultural model. On the one hand she expressed some concern or fear about not understanding A when he spoke in Chinese:

R You said that when he first came he used to shout out a lot in Chinese. Does he use Chinese much at all now?

P He started just again recently now. We went through a little spell when I felt he was insulting in some Chinese. He has quite a wicked sense of humour which sometimes is quite inappropriate.

Interview Pat 1, 3.11.99

This concern which arose from not knowing what A was saying in Chinese was repeated by Pat (lines 5-6) when I interviewed her on the final day of the research:

1 R El (auxiliary) was talking there about him using Chinese but she wasn't sure if he was, do you find that he, have you noticed --- ?

P He's certainly using Chinese much more than he did; you know you hear him saying things in Chinese which he really didn't do at all
5 (before, implied) and he certainly is doing that; *the problem for us and*

I suppose for anybody is what he's saying and how appropriate it is; whether he's sending us all up which I strongly suspect he does at times cos he's got quite a wicked sense of humour.

Interview Pat and Elsie 1, 5.5.99

However on the other hand, Pat recognisesd that there was some benefit to A using Chinese, which she tentatively offered me by questioning her perceptions (line 6 below), but she did not know how to enable him to do so (lines 6-8) as she viewed teaching as necessarily involving direct oral response to pupil input:

- 1 P Just recently I have noticed once or twice him using a bit as if he was
the thoughts in Chinese but he didn't do at all. I mean he didn't seem
3 to be thinking. It was almost a blankness for a while. Now I think he is
beginning to speak more in English but I have noticed little phrases
5 in Chinese as if you know he doesn't know what the right phrase and
he'll just use the Chinese which *I am assuming is a good sign?* But *I*
7 *can't really do anything about it. You know I mean I can't respond*
except respond to the bits that I do understand in English, but yes he
9 started just quite recently to use little phrases in Chinese not a lot but
occasionally. He has of course his brother but I don't think that they
11 speak the same dialect.

Interview Pat 1, 3.11.99

In the mainstream Primary 2 class of Didmoon Primary, Iona taught J., A's younger brother. As with A, the school response to J's needs was to provide remedial support until he could cope with the monolingual curriculum. At the time of the research he was repeating Primary 2 and received teaching input from the Learning Support teacher. Iona did appear to recognise the emotional benefit for J of having his Chinese language recognised in the class (lines 7-9 below). Nevertheless in lines 17-20, her reporting of J not using Chinese any more was

linked to the notion that this move away from Chinese was progress:

- 1 R: Does he ever use Chinese in the class? Does he ever use a Chinese word?
- 3 I: He does, it's very very occasionally. I think there was once that we were watching television, we were doing Words and Pictures and there
- 5 was something about some Chinese celebration, I don't know if it was the Chinese New Year and they were obviously speaking words and
- 7 I was saying oh I know what that is. *That was quite nice because he could say to the other children so he was trying to teach the other*
- 9 *children wee words in Chinese* but there aren't very many occasions that he uses that. Sometimes at the lunch hall if there's something
- 11 new that comes on the menu and he doesn't know what it is he'll point to it and say the Chinese word for it but not very often, not in
- 13 class.
- R: But then there's nobody else that would understand him, you know, but
- 15 I just wondered if he sometimes used any Chinese words when he didn't have the English for it?
- 17 I: He doesn't usually no, *he tended to in Primary 1; he'd point to something and get quite frustrated if you weren't picking up what he*
- 19 *was saying and he would try and explain in Chinese but he doesn't do that anymore.*

Interview Iona 1, 3.11.99

Several of the teachers explicitly viewed progress as being more use of English. Jenna, the Primary 2 teacher in Noort Primary compared her bilingual pupil Jo. to her Chinese speaking friend, whose English language acquisition she believed was hindered by not having anyone to speak English to outside the school setting:

- 1 J My best friend's Chinese and it's Cantonese they speak at home and in the restaurant and her English is dreadful. Her grammar, she
- 3 talks about 'too many cheese' instead of too much cheese. Her

5 grammar is not good at all. They speak it at home and I think *she*
 had to go to the Learning Unit as well so I don't know, *it can*
 depend on the child cos she has cousins as well that are super brains
 7 and they were away to university at sixteen. I think *it depends on*
 how clever the child is and how quickly they can pick up (English,
 9 implied) and also she was the oldest so she didn't have anyone
 speaking English at all, whereas her younger brother and her
 11 younger sister are much more fluent.

Interview Jenna 1, 3.3.99

In line 5 above, Jenna referred to her friend attending the Learning Unit. By this she meant the Bilingual Support Unit, which, at the time of the research, Jo attended four mornings a week. Jenna frequently referred to this provision as Learning Support rather than Language Support, indicating her belief that bilingual children who were not fitting in to the monolingual requirement of the system, required remedial learning support. Jenna's suggestion that ability depended on the child (lines 5 -8) was an indication that the responsibility for a bilingual pupil's success did not lie with the school. The onus for success is discussed further in later sections.

As stated in the introduction to this chapter cultural models are not necessarily always consistent. There were variations in the teachers' individual sociocultural contexts which affected the cultural models they held. Not all of the teachers shared the view that the home language was of no relevance to the pupil's 'success'. Megan, for example, taught W., J's older brother, in Primary 4 at Noort Primary. At the time of the research, Megan had taught in South Ayrshire authority for eleven years, but had previously taught in Glasgow where there are many more bilingual children. Her beliefs have been influenced by her experiences there and the cultural model she adheres to has been influenced by that particular educational context. She recognised that the fact that W's first

language was not being sustained could be having an impact on his progress:

M Because one of his greatest problems is ----- I mean at home there isn't the community of Chinese. That is the biggest problem. He has got no knowledge and no background in Cantonese as far as reading it or writing it.

R So he's not reading it at all then, Cantonese?

M No

R He doesn't go to Chinese school or anything?

M No. And of course there isn't a large community so I mean that is where you feel that children like W maybe do lose out compared to what might happen in Glasgow.

Interview Megan 1, 3.3.99

However, despite the fact that Megan appeared to believe that development of W's first language would help him achieve in school, she did not see this as the school's responsibility, indicating that his difficulties arise because literacy in his first language was not being supported at home:

M I was doing a piece that was actually a piece of reading assessment and it was going into their record folder so obviously I wasn't helping them with it and it was collective nouns, it was main ideas but at a fairly basic level. A list of words like Daisy, Rose. What word could we use for these - flowers and W doesn't know these things, that's where there is this gap. He is standing between - I mean *he is not even getting the background at home in literacy in Cantonese* and he is obviously not getting it in English and I found that he just didn't get the concept at all. The only one he got was the one which I did with him on the blackboard which was all names of birds.

Interview Megan 1, 3.3.99

Megan returned to this belief in that it would be beneficial for W to have his first language acknowledged later in the interview. She suggested that this might happen if he went to the Support Unit.

R What do you think would be ideal for him?

M Ideally I think it would still be better for W if he could actually be in a group at the support unit, going to see once or twice a week even where he was meeting other children who are having the same problems because he would realise it is not just him. He is terribly self-conscious he is the only Chinese boy in this class and he is very conscious of it and I think if he were meeting other children it might actually boost his confidence. I think J (W's younger brother) still goes but they seem to have this policy of well you know W's now Primary 4 and he can cope so he doesn't go any more. He can speak English, but you know yes, basically he can. But he does need the support not just for speaking but for the confidence and also the cultural background for his own, for the Chinese culture and background. I don't think he actually gets much of that. Not that I'm, I am not criticizing the parents don't get me wrong but you know there is this he's falling between the two and not quite sure where he belongs.

Interview Megan 1, 3.3.99

Megan had a different name for, and consideration of the purpose of the Bilingual Support Unit than Jenna in the same school, who had referred to the service as 'the learning unit'. Megan was clearly aware of W's cultural needs not just his language needs and believed the two are closely linked. She would seem to be advocating a pluralist rather than an assimilationist philosophy towards the education of ethnic minority children (de Vreede, E 1996) although in the context in which she was working she believed W's cultural and linguistic needs could best be met where there were other Chinese children, i.e. in the Bilingual Support Unit. Both Megan and Jenna independently expressed a desire to visit the unit, to

see how it functioned and to try to adapt the practices to their classrooms.

Thus neither teacher seemed to believe they had the answer to meeting the needs of the bilingual child and the cultural models they held were not rigid nor assumed to be correct.

It may be that one of the reasons why teachers hold on to the master model of monolingualism is that they feel so unaware themselves of their bilingual pupils' home languages and cultures. For example, in Primary 2 at Fieldhead, Mary teaches V., a Cantonese speaking pupil. She had previously taught R., V's older sister and referred to R. frequently in the interviews. Mary reminisced about her surprise when she first heard R. using Cantonese:

M What really surprised all of us one day one of the girls, it must have been R, didn't have her gym things so I sent her along to find out if she could borrow M's (the oldest child in the family) and she went in, asked the teacher obviously and then started speaking in Cantonese. They didn't even you know to each other, outwith, well they were still in this environment so I think at home there is no English spoken at all, they don't play with other children.

Interview Mary 1,8.2.99

At the time of the research, Gwen, the primary 4 teacher in Fieldhead taught R., the older sister of V. in primary 2. Gwen recognised that the sisters used two languages in their everyday life:

G I was in Primary 1 when M., R's big sister, and R. both started school and you are virtually handed a child whose English was virtually school English and that still is the case.

Interview Gwen 1,10.12.98

Gwen referred to the existence of different Englishes and although she did not use the term domains of language use, she appeared to understand this notion as discussed by Romaine (1989) and Baker (1996). She referred to there being a school context for the girls' use of English language.

Gwen then contrasted the domains of English with the domains in which the children used their first language:

- 1 G so you get these wee girls who when they're together speak whatever
the dialect, I've actually been told, I think, is it Mandarin? I'm not a- -.
- 3 You see that's how little I am aware of the--, who speak together in
their own language, who when they go home use their own language,
5 who spend their evenings in a room at the back of the restaurant where
the family are living, using their own language, eh, so English is
7 school, full stop.

Interview Gwen 1,10.12.98

Gwen's hesitations in lines 2 and 3 above suggest an apology on her part that she was not aware of the pupils' home language. Home language was not recorded in school documents and until my research, Gwen had not had to vocalise what language the girls spoke. This lack of awareness was acknowledged by a number of the teachers. At the start of the academic year 1998 - 1999 Inverclyde authority appointed one Chinese bilingual assistant to work in a number of schools. This bilingual assistant, Mrs. H., saw R. once a fortnight for an hour. Gwen discussed this support with me in a later interview, although she acknowledged that she herself still did not know what R's first language was:

- 1 G She (Mrs. H.) takes her out and works with her because of the fact that
they're working with you know in Chinese, well I'm not sure if it's

3 Cantonese or what it is they're working in. You see there you are
again, I'm not absolutely sure what the which one of the languages
5 it is that em R uses.

R You were saying that if there's something that you feel R's really stuck
7 with you leave it to Mrs. H ---

G Well I would obviously eh teaching wise, educationally if there are
9 things that have to get done by me then they get done by me but if I
feel that there's something that she would, that I would like to spend a
11 lot of time with or have somebody spend time with then I would ask
Mrs. H to work with her and I would have to spend some time with
13 her and again there you are we're into this business of how do you
manage your support, where do you get the time to liaise with them
15 and juggle and this is another aspect of the difficulties. The support
staff are there, there's no question of that, it's just how do we use them
17 to our best advantage and they're not mind readers.

R No, and as you said Mrs. H is not a teacher ---

19 G --- No, she is a very good eh ---

R ---And you can't really say, right we're at level such and such, go over -

21 G --- No no I can't I have to try and explain to her what I want and what
the point of that particular lesson is. At the moment it's been very
23 simple, it's been things like telling the time so it's been very basic
stuff that she would have done with her own children and you know
25 I don't imagine she's had any difficulty with that but you know it's
going to be an ongoing problem. We can't have the best of both
27 worlds; we can't have a Chinese speaking teacher.

Interview Gwen 2, 7.6.99

Although Mrs. H. gave R a very small amount of support it had alerted Gwen to

the possibility of R's first language having a place in her education (lines 26-27). This suggests there was a change in the master model held by Gwen but there was no mechanism in place within the school or education authority to provide the guidance and information Gwen would have needed to implement this change. Gwen was aware that R had needs which she was not able to address but she had not been helped to acquire the knowledge base to translate her awareness into practice. Like Jenna, Gwen tried to make sense of R's experience by comparing her to a known adult bilingual (lines 1-4 overleaf) as she did not have experience of working with other bilingual pupils.

In lines 7-12 (below) Gwen expressed a recognition that her many years of teaching monolingual children had not necessarily equipped her to meet R's needs:

- 1 G I can only imagine what it must be like trying to work in a language
that isn't the language that you're thinking in. I have a friend who is
- 3 Dutch and she now lives and works here and she says she's fine as
long as it's language but she still counts in Dutch.
- 5 R Yes and it's difficult to know how much R is trying to work in her
home language.
- 7 G So you're conscious that eh that her thought patterns the way she's
picking things up are not necessarily the same as everybody else's,
- 9 accepting that everybody else has their own variations on a theme as
well, but most of us who are working in English will surely be working
- 11 along similar pathways you know and as a teacher who has taught as
long as I have you are kind of aware of a fair number of the pathways

Interview Gwen 2, 7.6.99

In Whatville Primary, Karen, a Primary 2 teacher, substituted the word 'language' (line 1, below) for English, in common with a number of the other

teachers in the research. When talking about N., a Punjabi speaking boy whom she taught, she classified his educational needs thus:

- K What his main trouble is really is *lack of language*. I don't think he's as how shall I put it, not bright as he appears. I talked to his father at parents' night and I asked him how much English was spoken at home because mother seems to speak Urdu all the time and he said not very much and I suggested that perhaps although he's out working a lot I suggested that perhaps he spoke a lot more English in the house and he said that quite often he'd say something to N in English and he would look as if he didn't understand so he would repeat it in Urdu which I said was fine you know as long as he gets the English input.

Interview, Karen 1, 23.11.98

Karen considered it to be the parents' responsibility to enable N to become fluent in English and to fit into the school norms by speaking to him in English. This is a cultural model which is discussed further in a subsequent section.

Karen put great emphasis on the need for N to fit in to the school culture, which, by definition, was a monoculture. N's cousin, S., was also in Primary 2 at Whatville and in the same teaching group as N. for maths and language work. Karen had mentioned that in the early stages of primary school S used to take responsibility for N. I was interested to know if the teachers enabled the two bilingual pupils to work together:

- R Do him and S. do they work together at all now?

- K Not really, not really, he's kind of on his own now. The children are quite helpful to him. I explained at one point that it was like them being sent to a French school and trying to get on and they're actually quite helpful, they'll sort of say, Oh N. you're doing this or they'll actually say Let me see N., oh that's good, obviously taking

the cue from me.

Interview, Karen 1, 23.11.98

Although N was born in Scotland, Karen had explained his needs to the other children in the class as if he was a foreigner who needed encouragement. She could see the benefit of peer support in the class but had not been able to utilise this strategy either to support N and S's first language or to help them develop English. Karen's view of the bilingual learner as a foreigner was returned to when she discussed her strategies for supporting N:

K I wonder how much he's taking in, I wonder how much of the language he, I mean I always put it two or three different ways and even occasionally resort to Pidgin English you know just to make it as simple as possible.

Interview, Karen 1, 23.11.98

Karen again used 'language' as a synonym for English language, as this was the only language which was recognised in the monolingual institutional context in which she was working. Karen referred to using Pidgin English to help N. understand the language of the classroom. She believed in a common-sense view that the language had to be simplified in order to be understood by foreigners and she applied this understanding to her interactions with N.

In Didmoon Primary, Elsie had also modified her speech to what might be termed Pidgin English when talking to A: "No, Mrs. G not understand, not speak Chinese". (page 72). It is an interesting contradiction that while the teachers held a cultural model that suggested the bilingual pupils needed to become monolingual in English, not all the teachers always presented models of fluent English when talking to their bilingual pupils.

In both interviews, and in unrecorded conversations, Karen considered N's behaviour to be a cause for concern and she referred frequently to the need to ensure that N conformed:

K When he first came into the class he stuck out like a sore thumb and you were constantly, constantly at him and he was just naughty all the time. I have fought with him and well you know I always win
 as I told his mama and you know if he wouldn't go where he was supposed to go he got lifted because I'm bigger than him and he now is beginning to toe the line but he's still naughty, but he's beginning to toe the line a lot more and see what's happening.

Interview, Karen 1, 23.11.98

N. had to conform not only with the monolingual norms of the classroom but also, as for all the children, with the cultural norms of classroom behaviour. The expectations as to what these cultural norms were was transmitted in English and when N. did not conform, perhaps because he did not understand, Karen referred to him as sticking out 'like a sore thumb'.

However the second recorded interview in Whatville was conducted with both Karen and Morven, the other Primary 2 class teacher. There was a contrast in the two teachers' perceptions of N., with Morven suggesting why N. might have had difficulty in fitting into the school culture:

K His behaviour when he came in was bad. He was bad.

M I think he was quite confused, I don't think he understood some of the rules really.

Interview, Karen & Morven, 1, 10.6.99

Karen and Morven continued this discussion with Karen moving to a recognition of N's behaviour not being separate from his understanding of school norms (line 8 below):

1 K I think he's beginning to get the idea of if you do not behave
 you know life is not pleasant and he's not allowed to get away with
 3 anything here really is he? (to M)

M But I think in primary one he seemed quite sad and he was often

- 5 standing on his own. In the classroom even he would be in trouble
and he would be sent to sit beside Mrs. C's room. I think they
7 found him very naughty
- K *But I think also it was to do with his language.* His language was
9 very poor and yet he picks up things quickly because during the year
he came to me once and he said 'My shoelace is open' and I said
11 'No, when you're talking about a shoelace, a shoelace is untied
or undone', and he came back another, I think it was the other day
13 and he said 'My shoelace is open' and I said 'No your shoelace is
undone or untied' and thereafter he will come to you and say his
15 shoelace is untied so he does pick up language quite well but I think
he's beginning to know what school's more about and he's talking to
17 other children more; his language has definitely improved but
mother doesn't speak to him in English, she uses Punjabi all the
19 time and Daddy's never in 'cos he's always at the shop so he's not
getting that great input from home so anything, any English he is
21 learning is probably from the other kids and from here isn't it? (to
M)
- 23 M Yes and I think as his language has improved ---
K --- his behaviour's ---
- 25 M --- he understands a lot more and he's more willing to participate in
things.

Interview, Karen & Morven, 1, 10.6.99

Karen did not see Punjabi as being of any use to N. and considered that home input was negligible support for N's learning because it was not in English (lines 17-21). This reinforced her earlier encouragement (page 86) to N's father to speak to him in English. It is interesting that as Morven reflected on N's improved 'language' (line 23 above, again used as a synonym for English) that Karen again related this to behaviour although Morven was relating it to N's ability to participate.

Towards the end of this interview on the final day of the research in Whatville there was an interesting move in the discourse to a consideration of what it might mean for the children to be bilingual. Karen did not see the contradiction in expecting a five year old child to know she should communicate in her first language (lines 5-10 overleaf) when the whole ethos of the school as presented in curriculum, resources and overt messages discussed earlier, was that the language of the school was English.

- 1 K: N. was crying last year, did you hear the story (to M)?
 M Yes
- 3 K N was bawling and C (another teacher) could not get through to him, she kept asking him, she obviously thought it was a language barrier
 5 and she said S, (N's cousin in the same class) S, come and ask N. why he doesn't like school so S comes up and says "N. why you no like school?" That was a great help you know, it got really (This word is stressed, making the comment cynical) over the language
 7 barrier. She (the teacher) thought she (S) would communicate in Punjabi but no, "N. why you no like school?"
- 9 R Did she get a response?
 K & M No, no.
- 13 K But S is the more organised of the two.
 R Do they ever talk to each other in Punjabi?
- 15 K & M No
 K No I've never heard them ---
 17 M --- never---
 K --- never heard them talking in Punjabi
- 19 R Do they ever talk to each other in English now?
 K Ye-es ----- M Uh-huh
- 21 K Yes they do but Mum when she comes in I'll tell him to do something and she'll obviously repeat it in Punjabi to him but I've

- 23 never heard him speak back to her in Punjabi.
- 25 M I've never heard either of them speak Punjabi.
- K He either doesn't answer or, in fact he doesn't answer most of the
- 27 time. I've never heard him converse in ---
- M I wonder how his speech is in Punjabi you know whether it's, it must
- 29 be good
- K Well he can understand what she's saying so it must be alright. But
- 31 he's very much caught in the middle isn't he, of the two, if he's
- getting nothing but Punjabi at home and nothing but English here.
- Poor child.

Interview, Karen & Morven, 1, 10.6.99

At this point Karen and Morven were called away by the Deputy Head for a school meeting and the interview finished. Being the last day of the research I was unable to follow up this recognition of the children's two domains of language.

In Kirk Primary, Jackie, the Primary 7 teacher, applied this same master model of the bilingual child needing to operate monolingually, but she discussed this in the wider context of success in the education system rather than in her class. Jackie's discussion (below) focused on National Testing, which she viewed as a hurdle which she as the teacher should enable the bilingual children to overcome, rather than as a barrier which the children could not overcome because of limitations in their English.

Jackie had recognised a specific difficulty that P. had in written English related to his use of tenses. She explained (lines 12 - 14, below) the effects of this confusion on P's written work. She indicated (lines 23 - 27) that she recognised a difference between the surface features of language, represented here by tense usage and the more cognitively complex features of language such as awareness of genre (a report in this case) and content (here, anti-bullying). Jackie implied

however (lines 3 -5) that the assessment system would not allow her to make this distinction and thus acted as a constraint on the bilingual child achieving. National Testing is thus another factor adding to the power of the master model that bilingual children need to become monolingual in order to succeed.

1 R So, you're saying that P's in the top maths group and quite often---.
J --- he's actually fifth in the class for Language as well but his tenses
3 get mixed up and that's how he loses marks because in a test, *much*
as you'd like to give him the full mark, you really can't give the full
5 *mark.*

R What kind of tests are you using? Is that National Tests you're
7 talking about or other tests?

J (In, implied) the reading National Tests, the tenses aren't a problem
9 because they tend to read it and you tick the right box or you put the
answer from the writing that was mixed up.

11 R But the writing National Test?

J Yes, he got them all mixed up, when he was coming and going and
13 then went and then it was happening yesterday and it was happening
now. But I'm afraid with P's national tests I went over with him and
15 said see these words and underlined in pencil and when you
underline them, it's not that he necessarily knows the right word to
17 use instead but he sits and thinks about it and he gets there somehow
or he asks someone. Some of the kids actually went through his test
19 with him for the underlined words and I still passed him.

R So what level was that was that Level E or Level D? ³

21 J Level D.

R Level D.

23 J Because everything about the test is in paragraphs, the spelling, the
ideas, the imagination, the fact that he'd written a report and an
25 anti-bullying leaflet and stuff, it was a D, it was just the tenses were

³ National Tests in the 5-14 Curriculum in Scotland are administered in Reading, Writing and Mathematics at Levels A - F. Teachers have discretion as to when they test their pupils and at which level.

27 mixed up and if you don't give them a break somewhere they never
get on. He has one word for each verb and that's it, he doesn't have
three or four.

29 R Have you got any examples? The kind of things that.....

J He doesn't ever use 'ed' at the end of a word, eve: *he skip, he go*;
31 it's never past tense, it's always present tense.

Interview Jackie 1, 17.5.99

Jackie believed that in the context in which she and the children found themselves the master model applied. Her resultant practice was based on her belief that this was the case and she referred (lines 14 - 19 above) to how she supports P. within this context so that he is not disadvantaged by his bilingualism.

Morag, the Primary 1 class teacher in Nanvale, also held to this model that the bilingual child needed to become monolingual in order to succeed. For Morag, this indicated that the child's bilingualism was the cause of any difficulties (lines 3-4, 8, 11-12 and 14-15, below) rather than the school not responding to the child's bilingualism:

1 M He's a very bright child and copes with all the learning the skills.
The steps he takes on board have proven he's capable. He has
3 given me the results I'm looking for. *His language I think if he
spoke only English would be much better*, he'd be much more
5 forthcoming but I think he's still reluctant to speak until he is
absolutely certain because you've seen that when he's confident and
7 he knows what he's about he's a different child and when he doesn't
he just shies away and *I think that's the language*. He doesn't fully
9 understand, even watching in music today, if he didn't fully
understand what was being asked he copies and it's not because he's
11 of poor ability because the poor children tend to do that, *it's the
language, he didn't understand what was being asked of him* but

- 13 once he knows he can cope because he has the ability, he's clever enough to do it, so he's a bright child and *the language perhaps is hindering him in some way.*

Interview, Morag 1, 19.11.98

In Primary 5 at Nanvale, Lotty taught A., a Chinese speaking girl. Lotty transferred her belief that A. should operate in English onto A., assuming that A. did not want to be acknowledged as bilingual:

R Is there anything about the fact that she is bilingual that helps her or anything about being bilingual that you think hinders her at all?

A I think she's embarrassed by it in actual fact because she wanted to stop going to Mrs. W (peripatetic EAL teacher) because I think she felt that she was missing things in the class but I also think it was because it was drawing attention to the fact that she is different.

Interview, Lotty 1, 19.11.98

I asked Lotty to expand on the issue of EAL support in the final interview:

R And is she still seeing the bilingual support teacher?

A No, no, because she doesn't want to, she didn't like it. She said.....it was her mother said on the first parents' night that she didn't.....A didn't like going. She felt she missed things in the class. So I had a word with Mrs. W. and she said that she would have preferred her to stay so we kept her for another term and then when it came to the last parents' evening she said she really didn't want to go so we went and had a word with her then.

R What, the parents did?

A Yes.

R With C?

A Yes.

R Right.

A So she doesn't go anymore, so she seems a lot happier about that. I think she just felt different.

Interview, Lotty 2, 2.6.99

Lotty's manifestations of a belief that the bilingual child should operate as per the monolingual norm have again been formed in the context of a school with few bilingual pupils where the bilingual child is withdrawn from the class for support.

The master model at work as shown in the above discussion is that the bilingual pupil needs to be monolingual. This master model has been arrived at by lack of support and policy to indicate otherwise. It has been strengthened by the school ethos and by the limited partnership between the mainstream school and the EAL support where this was available. A number of related cultural models derive from this master model. Some of these have already been alluded to in the preceding discussion and will now be discussed further.

3.2 Parents Who Do Not Speak English Hinder The Child's Academic Progress.

This is the first cultural model to be discussed which derives from the master model. There is evidence across the data from the six different authorities that the teachers viewed the parents' linguistic practices as having an impact on their children's success in relation to the master model described in the last section.

What does this mean?

In recent years partnership with parents has become increasingly important in Scottish education (SEED, 1999) as elsewhere in the United Kingdom. The involvement of parents from bilingual communities is particularly significant in assisting bilingual children's academic achievement (Cummins, 1986; Siraj-Blatchford, 1994; Gregory, 1997). All six schools promoted parental

involvement in their written policy documents although none of these documents were provided for parents in any language other than English. In Noort and Nanvale Primaries parents were frequently found as helpers in the classroom in a range of curricular activities although at the time of the research none of the bilingual parents had been involved in this way. All six schools had a homework policy and encouraged parents to participate in their child's education by signing homework markers and exercises. For those children in Noort, Kirk and Nanvale who attended the Bilingual Support Service four afternoons a week, their homework was done in the language unit and signed by staff there. This was allegedly so as not to overburden these children but the result was to collude, albeit unintentionally in the cultural model, i.e. **parents who do not speak English hinder the child's academic progress** and can not be expected to help with the child's out of school work which is in English.

Home support for education is viewed as an aid to success and parents in all six schools were encouraged to attend biannual parents' meetings to discuss their children's academic progress. A common feature of the interviews across stages and authorities was a concern among the teachers regarding the involvement of the bilingual parents in their children's education. This concern centred on the difficulties of communicating due to teachers and parents not sharing a language. Radiating from this central concern were connected concerns that education was not viewed in the same way by parents who did not speak English and that the parents could not help their children because the curriculum was delivered in English and the children had to operate in English in order to succeed. This is a reflection of the master model discussed earlier, i.e. bilingual pupils need to become monolingual in English to succeed.

The Model in Action

In Noort Primary, Megan, the Primary 4 teacher, showed an understanding, discussed earlier (pages 77 - 78) of how a development of W's first language, Cantonese, may help his academic development. However when she discussed W's ability to use English she related it to the fact that English is not used at home:

M The lack of English at home means he lacks background knowledge in the English language. He's reading well and his comprehension is good, but there's aspects that are blank and I have to spot them and fill the gaps.

Interview Megan 3, 11.6.99 (recorded in writing only)

Megan referred to W's mother's English language usage having a negative effect on W's English:

1 M I've not met his father yet but I know there are some problems in the
family background. You can't generalise about the bilingual
3 children because the ones in Primary 5 have exceptional language
and translate for their parents at parents' night but W's mum's
5 English is broken though she does well. I told her, 'Sometimes W
misses words out' and she said 'I do that'.

7 R What kind of things does he miss out?

 M Like he'll say 'I go swimming Sunday'. But you can't generalise.
9 You've got to take their home background into account and what
they write reflects what they say so I'll accept 'I go swimming
11 Sunday' in writing from W.

Interview Megan 3, 11.6.99 (recorded in writing only)

Megan considered it would be wrong to correct W's use of English which reflected the English he heard at home. This was in contrast with Jackie who

believed she needed to alert P. to incorrect tense usage or he would be disadvantaged in the assessment system. P. is older than W. and it could be that Megan did not think correction was necessary at this stage in W's academic career.

Megan had mentioned her concern about the detrimental effects of home English usage in the first interview:

- M I haven't met his dad. I know that his mum has reasonable English but it does tend to be fairly stilted and W very often writes like that. "I going swimming last night" that's a common ---
- R Tense
- M Yes tenses. He doesn't understand you know how to put it into words when he is writing.

Interview Megan 1, 3.3.99

There is a contradiction here in that, on the one hand, Megan relates W's English language ability to the home use of English language but on the other hand, the bilingual children whom Megan considers to have 'exceptional language', i.e. English, (see page 93, line 3, Interview Megan 3, 11.6.99) are children who translate for their parents. Therefore their parents presumably did not communicate well in English. Megan did herself acknowledge this contradiction by saying (line 2, *ibid*) 'You can't generalise about the bilingual children'. It would have been interesting to explore further with Megan what she thought were the influences on these latter children's level of acquisition of English if it was not the home use of English and whether this was related to the development of their first language which she had alluded to in the earlier discussion.

In Fieldhead Primary, Mary, the Primary 2 teacher, contrasted teaching V and R, Cantonese speaking sisters, with other experiences she had had of bilingual pupils by referring to the parents' ability to communicate in English:

- 1 R Had you had any bilingual children before R and ---
 M Yes, well I had one boy, an Indian, *but* he was a doctor's son and
 3 *there were no problems there because English* was eh -
 R Used at home?
 5 M Yes, uh-huh.
 R What about Ra? (another bilingual child in the class)
 7 M Ra is the older one, no H is the older one, Ra is the younger. *No*
there's no problems there because I think they're about third
 9 generation. His father, his grandfather came over from India and
 his father was born in this country and his mother is English, also
 11 born in this country, well I mean an Indian English speaker. If you
 listen to them it's like listening to a, you wouldn't think, if you
 13 closed your eyes you wouldn't think Ra was anything but Scottish.

Interview Mary 1, 8.2.99

Although my question had been to ask Mary about previous experiences of working with bilingual pupils, her response turned this, with the use of 'but' (line 2 above) into a contrast between those bilingual pupils who presented problems and those who did not. She based the existence of problems on the relative use of English at home. Later in the interview I asked Mary about the bilingual parents participation in parents' nights and she replied in relation to V and her sister:

- 1 R Do the parents come to parents' nights?
 M The father does. The mother I don't know, he says she doesn't
 3 speak English but whether she actually could understand or not I
 don't know em but the father does, but even then I mean he speaks
 5 English and you're assuming he's understanding most of what

7 you're saying but *when I was trying to specify R's problems and be*
specific about it, I don't think he fully understood you know all that I
 was trying to get across and I know that Mrs. K. (the EAL teacher)
 9 has spent quite a lot of time with him too, trying to give him
 guidance to let him know how he could help her but that again I
 11 don't think was carried through.

Interview Mary 1, 8.2.99

Mary had assumed that R's father's English had not been adequate to understand the difficulties R was experiencing at school (lines 6 - 8 above) so Mary was left with the belief that the parents' limitations in English cause the child difficulties. This was further highlighted in lines 13 - 16 below. It is interesting that when I asked Mary about the challenges of working with bilingual pupils, the first issue that she raised (see below) was communication with parents. Mary was stressing the importance of effective home-school liaison, which she felt was not happening in this instance although she did suggest (lines 11 - 12 below) that some interpreting provision may overcome the difficulty.

1 R One of the things I'm trying to identify is what teachers are saying
 are the challenges in working with bilingual children? What are the
 hard things, the things that you don't know?

M Do you mean as far as teaching or just generally?

5 R Just generally, yes.

M Well, I don't know if this is what you mean but it's difficult if there
 is a problem even if you know how to deal with it sometimes with
 the likes of Mr. K (R and V's father) he doesn't understand you
 know, so it's actually communicating if you're wanting help from
 10 home, even conveying that so that the parent understands exactly
 what's needed. So *if there could sometimes be a third party who*
 could even explain more fully because often, not with V because it
 hasn't arisen, but certainly with R I often felt *he really didn't*

15 *know exactly what I was trying to convey and as a result it wasn't really followed through and the help he could have given her wasn't given.* Is that the kind of thing?

R That's what a lot of people are saying. That the parental communication is a big challenge, even more often than working with the child.

20 M Whereas with Ra it's absolutely no problem because his parents, you know, I would, although perhaps they speak Punjabi, English is certainly their first language too

R So they understand?

 M That's not a problem. Messages are easily relayed and understood
25 but I certainly haven't found that with Mr. K.

Interview Mary 2, 7.6.99

Again in lines 20-25, Mary contrasted the parents who spoke English with the parents who did not, suggesting that R and V's father's limited English resulted in disadvantaging his daughters at school.

In a lengthy discourse about teaching R in Primary 4, Gwen also introduced the issue of parental communication. She was referring to the same parents as Mary.

1 G --- and the other problem is that our point of communication is dad you know school to family that's our point of communication.
 Mum as far as we know doesn't speak any English or very much at all so she doesn't come near the school and I, nice and all as Mr. K
5 is and he's a smashing person, he makes a point of coming to talk, but I don't think his English is --- (grimaces)

R Right, so the communication with the parents doesn't really ---

G --- Yes yes I don't feel it's, I don't feel it's eh, certainly not as easy as it is with some of the other parents, you know it's eh, I don't

10 always feel that we hit the mark.

Interview Gwen 1, 10.12.98

Gwen suggested (lines 2-4 above) that the girls' mother did not come to the school because of her lack of English, indicating the effect in action of the cultural model that schools' responsibility to bilingual pupils is to promote monolingualism. Mary had talked about the frustration of not knowing whether Mr. K understood what she was trying to convey and Gwen expressed this also, saying (lines 9-10) , 'I don't always feel that we hit the mark.' implying that the meaning of what she said was not always clear to Mr. K.

In Didmoon Primary, parental English and parental understanding of the education system was a major concern to all three teachers interviewed. J and A lived with their parents but the main point of contact seemed to be their grandmother who was staying with them temporarily. On the last day of the research in Didmoon I asked Iona if there was anything she would like to have known before teaching J. that would have helped her in her teaching response to J's needs. Similarly to Mary's response to my query about challenges, Iona quickly related this question to home contact (line 11 onwards), reiterating again the vital nature of effective communication with the home.

1 R: So with the kind of hindsight of working with a bilingual child over the year what kind of things now would you say that might have helped you to know in advance?

I: Is there anything that I would like to have known in advance?

5 R: Yes.

I: I don't know. I found it really difficult at the beginning because I felt like I was kind of just stabbing in the dark and just hoping that what I was doing was going to work and I think it has worked but I would really actually have liked a course on what he needed before

10 he was actually put in my class to tell me exactly what was going to
 go on because I found it difficult initially, you know, especially with
 the parents and, you know, gran because gran really didn't have very
 much English at all, you know, maybe just one or two words and I
 think it would maybe have helped *if we had a better form of*
 15 *communication* right from the beginning and we've now, I mean,
 dad actually has quite good English so it's now dad that we ask to
 come, whereas it was always if you sent a letter home it was always
 mum or gran that came in and it was only sort of by chance when I
 met him in the street one day that we discovered that *dad could*
 20 *actually communicate quite well* so it's now dad, you know, that we
 ask, you know, to come into the school and he's quite good at
 following things through, you know, if you go and make suggestions
 as to what he could do at home and the dad would go home and
 actually explain to whoever was at home so that was really helpful
 25 as well.

Interview Iona 2 ,5.5.99

Unlike Mary, Iona did not reflect here, for example, on the possible use of interpreting but puts the onus for communication on the home, using communicate (line 19) as a synonym for speak in English, suggesting that the improvements in communication she refers to in line 14 are to do with the home contacts having better English.

In the next section I discuss the cultural model which informs the teachers' practice in relation to those pupils who do not fit the master model. In this discussion I mention Iona's belief that the Chinese use of the alphabetic names for letters rather than phonic sounds disadvantaged J in his acquisition of English literacy. During the final interview she suggested that this difficulty has been overcome because with the improved communication with the home has come an ability for the parents to support J in monolingual literacy (lines 19-23, below).

1 I And C S that works with him she's been here since just after
Christmas and he gets on really well with her. He's got a really nice
relationship.

R: Is she a learning support teacher?

5 I: Yes, she comes in for, well, she's got an hour four days a week and
that seems to really help him, you know, she sits down beside him
and talks to him and helps him with his work and gives him lots and
lots of discussion and vocabulary and she's done Letterland⁴ with
him. Did you hear him when he was sounding out his name with all
10 the Letterland characters? Being Chinese they tend to do the ABC⁵
thing and it wasn't helping with his work, we couldn't get him to
blend sounds because he didn't have the a b c so that's been just
over the last wee while. She's just finished Letterland

R: That was just when you wrote his name down on his picture was it?

15 I: Yes and he was saying that's Eddie Elephant ---

R: --- I knew he was talking about the letters but I didn't make out the
names he was giving them.

I: He loves doing these. C comes up each day and does a different
story with him and then *he gets a homework sheet at night and his*
20 *mum and dad are now working with him at home and we've had the*
mum and dad in and we've tried to explain to them that no it's not A
B C it's now a b c and they seem to be carrying this out at home as
well which has really helped and now, you know, when he sounds
out his reading he can actually do the b-e-d which has obviously
25 helped him a lot, you know, so he really has, he's been brilliant.

Interview Iona 2 ,5.5.99

⁴ A commercially published scheme aimed at teaching letter names and phonic skills. The scheme is based round drawn representations of letter characters such as Eddie Elephant (e) and Lamp Lady (l) intended to represent the shape of the letter.

⁵ By 'the ABC thing' Iona is referring to naming letters as opposed to giving them their phonic sounds, referred to later as a,b,c.

It is interesting that although the work done by the Learning Support teacher is acknowledged by Iona, she suggests that without the change in home understanding of phonics J. would not have been able to progress.

Parents' lack of understanding of the method and purpose of reading homework is believed to have caused difficulties for A. a bilingual pupil in Primary 4 in Didmoon Primary. In the next section I discuss A's experience of literacy, as observed by myself, in relation to how literacy events are viewed as promoting monolingualism. A's teacher, Elsie had difficulty in supporting A and she reflected on this in an interview following this observation. She was concerned that A was not doing his reading homework at home in the way the school expected (lines 1 - 3, below).

As is common practice in many Scottish primary schools, Elsie records the pages to be read at home on a marker or in a notebook. The expectation is that the parents will hear the child reading these pages aloud and sign the marker to indicate that this has been done satisfactorily. In some schools parental workshops on reading are organised which consider the approaches to the teaching of reading but in many situations, Didmoon included, it is expected that knowledge will be transmitted between parents and from one generation to the next about home-school literacy practices. This is despite the work of researchers such as Taylor (1994), Brice-Heath (1994) and Kenner (1997) discussed in the literature review which has shown the diversity of home literacy practices and demonstrated the differences between home and school literacy practices.

In the case of A, his parents did not share this cultural knowledge and so they required him to transcribe the text into the reading record. During this particular interview, as with several others, I found it impossible to maintain a neutral position as a researcher, as Elsie appeared to seek advice on how to resolve this dilemma (lines 5-6).

1 E --- His granny is making, or somebody at home is making him write
it out, the pages you set. They are all written out. Not just once but
3 he writes the sentence about four times.

R That is probably because they don't know how to help him.

5 E Should I not send it home? You know I mean that is the thing it
would be nice to know am I doing the right thing? But then he
7 might fight me for it.

R It should go home because you know it is part of his being the same
9 and getting the same as the others but maybe if his dad was up, his
dad's got more English hasn't he?

11 E Yes he has.

R If his dad was up you could say to get somebody to talk to him about
13 the pictures rather than getting him to write it out but you might find
that the way in which the granny is used to learning to read is by
15 writing out the Chinese ideographs and writing and reading going
together. So it's the only way that she can help him.

Interview Elsie 1, 12.1.99

Elsie later proposed the possibility of asking other Chinese adults, more fluent in English than A's parents, to help with his reading (lines 1 - 5 below) in a way that more closely conforms with the expectations of the school. Although she ultimately rejects this solution as 'imposing', what is important to the present discussion is that her proposal, that is to seek help from a more competent English speaker rather than to draw on the linguistic and cultural competencies of the home, has its roots in the cultural model that parents who do not speak English hinder the child's academic progress.

1 E There are other Chinese folk who have the Juniper Green
(restaurant). There are some of their family have very, very good
3 English because I have actually spoken to them about A so they
obviously being a Chinese community they kind of know each other

- 5 but you think you can't impose on them, 'would somebody take over A's reading?' There is no way they would do that.
- 7 R You could say to the dad to talk with him in Chinese about the content of the pictures ---
- 9 E Oh that's an idea---

Interview Elsie 1, 12.1.99

In a later interview the issue of different home-school literacy practices was returned to and it became clear that Elsie had in fact modified her expectations of what would be done at home and tried to incorporate the home literacy practices by requiring A to copy a sentence from the text at home and draw a related picture (lines 4-5). In the interim however Elsie had denied A and his parents the opportunity to work together to help his literacy development because the school and parents did not share the same approach to reading (lines 3-4 and 7-8). At the time of this interview Elsie was again considering (lines 20 - 21) removing this link with school work because (lines 15-17) the parents can not read English. The cultural model that parents who do not speak English hinder the child's academic progress was acting powerfully here to deny parents the right to help their child's education.

- 1 E Reading wise no we haven't done so well because he's, I think what happened was it's being written out at home instead of oral reading it's been written out and it killed him, it killed him *so we, I took away the things for a while* and then I've gradually given them back
- 5 and I've given just one sentence to copy at home and draw a picture with it and I'm doing the words in school only and he's coming back to it, he's certainly coming back to it *but I had to take it all away from him because it was hopeless.*
- R Do you mean that his parents were just getting him to write out ---
- 10 E --- Yes
- R --- the page---

P --- We've had problems right throughout

E If you said read pages one to four you'd find one to four were all written out, I mean OK it's not a vast amount of writing but that's
 15 not the purpose of it, the purpose of it is to read it. *The problem could be at home that they can't read it themselves and therefore it's difficult to do reading with them* so I thought the easiest way is give them a little bit so that they feel they're doing something with him at home, but I do the words and we make the sentences with cards and
 20 things in school to try and help him that way and *I don't think I will send a reading book home with him.*

Interview Pat and Elsie 1,5.5.99

On the one hand Pat and Elsie acknowledged that they do not wish to be negative in their approaches to the boys' parents by asking them not to require A. to copy out the text but on the other hand the school did not seem to have strategies to be positive and to involve the parents in their sons' education. In this case although the teachers were trying to involve the parents, they viewed what A. was doing at home as being at odds with the specific goals of the homework task. The strategy thus maintained and reinforced the marginality of A. and his parents from the dominant school culture. The school had difficulties in communicating with the parents but the responsibility for resolving these difficulties was not seen as lying with the school.

In Kirk Primary, Jackie, the Primary 7 teacher had expressed concerns about P's difficulties in using the correct tenses in English as discussed in the previous section. I asked Jackie if she had written anything about this on the report which goes to parents at the end of the school year. She had not because of the constraints of the format of the report but added that his parents could not have helped with this anyway because they are Chinese (lines 20-21). The school report form uses language as a synonym for English language and there is no place on this, or on the reports in any of the other schools in the research for

commenting on the child's progress in their first language.

1 R So what kind of things were you saying about P, B and D on the reports if you remember?

J All three, quite hard workers. D has excelled himself in the language department and his parents from previous reports have just
 5 got "made some progress". He's just blossomed and all the words have clicked and he'll speak and he'll write it, so big progress there. His maths is coming on as well. B's maths is very good this year, it didn't seem to be last year but he's been in my group and it's a smaller group to be fair. P, his maths is always great, his
 10 language, he writes a lot more and his vocabulary is a lot better, it's just the tenses but they're smashing boys and they all got really good reports and they should be fine at G. (the secondary school to which they will soon be transferring)

R: So did you say anything about the tenses on P's report?

15 J: No because there wasn't a comment on the comment bank to do it.

R: Of course because you were using ---

J: I was stuck to the bulk entry if you remember and I had to change things and put the numbers in.

R: That really causes problems doesn't it?

20 J: P knows (about his difficulty with tenses, implied) but *I doubt very much if his parents could help him with that anyway because they're Chinese people.*

Interview Jackie, 1, 17.5.99

Thus P's parents, as with A's, were being denied the opportunity to help their son's education because of the effect in action of the cultural model that parents who do not speak English hinder the child's academic progress.

The master model is that the bilingual child needs to operate monolingually in

order to succeed and definite connections are made by the teachers between the language used by the family and the child's success in achieving this monolingual goal.

Although Morag, the Primary 2 teacher at Nanvale, concurred with a number of the teachers who had expressed concerns that they had not met the parents or had difficulties communicating with them (lines 3-4), Morag recognised that the school could have a more flexible approach to parental contact (lines 10-12) and made arrangements for them to visit during the school day:

1 R Anything else that you can say about your experience of working with bilingual children?

M *The contact with parents isn't as strong if the parents are not fluent with language.* I didn't see M's parents for the first parents' night which we had early in the year in October and they weren't intending coming in for the one held pre Easter, we had our reports out before Easter because of all our celebrations so I contacted the secretary to contact the parents and the mum and dad both came in and I showed them M's work and I told them how pleased I was and how able he was because *evenings don't suit this couple, that's when they work. The Chinese business was run in the evening so I made the effort to get his parents in* and to make them feel more at ease because mum doesn't have much English and so I felt if she could be made to feel comfortable about the school and there's nothing nicer than being told your child is coping, your child is working well, your child is not a problem, it was all positive I wasn't pulling them in to say I have a problem with your child. It was all building on this relationship with the parents and I hope that will increase. I feel that's really really important, that the family feel quite at ease and this school has a very high take up of parental

10
15
20

interview time. Very few parents opt out so it's the norm and this child should be included.

Interview Morag 2, 2.6.99

Morag recognised that it was important to build up a relationship with the parents despite the communication difficulties she had encountered. She has acknowledged that the school had a responsibility to bridge this communication gap.

Across schools, stages and teachers the cultural model is held that parents who do not speak English hinder the child's academic progress. Ultimate responsibility for the child acquiring English is therefore allocated to the parents. None of the teachers commented favourably on the bilingual child's ability to use two or more languages. Additionally communication with parents was reported as being a challenge for the teachers. In only one situation had the school made any apparently flexible arrangements for communicating with the parents. Where such an onus was put on the parents for the child's' academic success it was important to consider what cultural model pertained as regards the role of the school in the bilingual children's academic progress and this is discussed in the next section.

3.3 Those Bilingual Learners Who Do Not Fit The 'Master Model' Are Problematic And Require Learning Support.

What does this mean?

The teachers interviewed seem to hold a common cultural model that there are two types of bilingual learner. Contrasts were commonly made between those pupils who fitted the master model of operating in English and those who had difficulties with a monolingual school and curriculum, as for example in Megan's distinctions discussed on page 69. Karen, like Megan, has not counted as bilingual those children she has taught before who fitted the master model. She used the metaphor 'a different kettle of fish' to describe N. who does not fit the master model, that is, in Karen's words, 'his English has been really poor':

K I've had a couple (of bilingual pupils, implied) in the past but their English has been good.

R Right,

K So this is *a different kettle of fish*.

R so is this the first child that you've worked with ---

K where *his English has been really poor*.

Interview, Karen 1, 23.11.98

Some of the teachers offered reasons why the bilingual children did not fit the master model and this related back to the discussion in a previous section of the commonly held cultural model that parents who did not speak English hindered their children's progress. On page 97 I discussed how Mary contrasted her categorisation of bilingual pupils in relation to the use of English by their parents. This categorisation is an area of overlap between the cultural models which inform teachers' practice in relation to the bilingual pupils in their classes. Similarly Morag compared two children based on the use of English by their siblings. Morag compared M's English favourably to another Cantonese speaking boy in the school and considers this is because of the model of English at home:

- R Are there any other children from here that are going? (to the Bilingual Support Unit)
- M One little boy, R, goes. He was in the class last year. *His English was much poorer than M's but then his older sister doesn't have the language*, whereas, M's older sister chats to him at home and helps with reading etc. so she is a great asset to me too, her English is pretty good and she definitely helps him a great deal.

Interview Morag 2, 2.6.99

Where bilingual pupils fit the master model and operate monolingually it would appear that no recognition of their bilingualism is given by the school. The implications of this are discussed further in chapter 4. The ways in which the teachers and schools respond to those bilingual pupils who did not fit the master model will be discussed in the section below on The Model in Action. Those children who experienced difficulties with the monolingual school practices were seen as causing a problem for the school and the teachers and a range of support was in operation to overcome this problem. However the focus of this support, no matter what it was termed (i.e. Bilingual Support, English as an Additional Language Support or Learning Support) was on remediation of the child's difficulties with the curriculum and compensation for the fact that the child was bilingual and did not fit the master model of operating monolingually. Support was predominantly given on an individual teacher-pupil basis, even when more than one child was in the support group, using existing curricular materials and models of learning which were predominant in the school and focused on the learning needs of the very large monolingual majority. The cultural model that the response for those children who did not fit the monolingual master model should be remedial learning support will now be discussed in relation to the specific classroom practice and support given to some of those children.

The Model in Action

The model that those bilingual learners who do not fit the master model are problematic and require learning support is apparent in the practices in a number of the schools but is particularly noticeable in Whatville Primary where a number of teachers share responsibility for teaching O and A in Primary 5. The organisation in this stage was very complex as half of the base had two job-sharing register teachers. A flexibility teacher came in each morning to enable the sixty six children to be taught in three ability groups for maths. One of the difficulties of the complex organisation was that none of the teachers had an overall picture of any one child's needs. For the bilingual children this meant their progress was viewed by each teacher in terms of the curriculum areas for which they had responsibility. The children's overall language development was not considered.

In this base the two bilingual children, O and A were in different register groups and different language groups. At the start of the research period they were in the same maths group with Anja, the flexibility teacher, although by my second visit A had been moved to a higher ability maths group. The research involved both sides of the base and all the teachers.

On all four observation sessions in this class A received the same teaching and learning experiences as the rest of the class and was expected to produce output in the same forms. O received additional input from the EAL teacher, the SEN teacher, the flexibility teacher and a classroom assistant. All of these experiences took the form of individual support for literacy for which O was withdrawn from the class. On two occasions this withdrawal was at the expense of other curricular areas, which was an issue about which both the EAL teacher and the flexibility teacher expressed concern to me. As in most of the other classes the emphasis in this class was on individual work.

O was viewed by the class teachers as being the poorer of the two bilingual

children. The methods the school used to overcome O's difficulties were to give him remedial support for phonics, reading and writing. When O was working with the peripatetic SEN teacher she used FuzzBuzz, a reading scheme aimed at children with reading difficulties. . The scheme uses a phonics approach to the teaching of reading. The associated workbooks are geared to children doing tasks which they can phonically decode as observed on Day 1 of my research:

O had to 'Draw a cat on a mat, Draw a red tent, Draw a pen and ink', etc. The next task required the child to complete the word written underneath line drawings, e.g. te-- under a picture of a tent. On returning to the class after this twenty minute session, O joined his language group who were working with the class teacher on a book from the Longman Book Project. This reading scheme is very different from FuzzBuzz, and is premised on reading for meaning and knowledge about language. O had missed the teacher input and was now expected to read aloud from this story which was a Jewish folk tale containing words such as Prague, Cracow, Rabbi and Eisik.

(Fieldnotes, Whatville, P51, 8.1.99)

O. was given no assistance in the acquisition of cultural literacy which would enable him to engage meaningfully with the more difficult text (Gregory, 1994). The support he was given focused on phonic decoding of text which had very little meaning in itself. At the crucial time when there was teacher input on the more difficult text, O. had been withdrawn from the group for remedial support with phonics.

Two of the class teachers expressed a belief that if O was having any difficulties with the curriculum then the EAL teacher would resolve them. On the occasion I saw the EAL teacher working with O, the class teacher had given her a copy of the Writing National Test and asked her to prepare it with him. F (the EAL teacher) had not seen this before and had a difficult time knowing how to support

O with a decontextualised piece of imaginative writing entitled “Down the Plughole”:

1 On this occasion O. was extracted from the class for forty five minutes while the rest of his group were doing practical work on symmetry. Anja, the teacher responsible, was concerned that O. would miss this teaching and asked F. if she would cover it with him another time to which F.
5 agreed. The National Test was going to be done by the group the next day under exam conditions and Ellen wanted F. to help O. with the planning of the story. The Writing Test Papers incorporate a planning page on which children are intended to write notes in response to content questions before writing the complete story. In this case the planning
10 questions were:

Where is the plughole?

How did the person get into it?

What did the person see?

How did the person feel?

15 **What happened?**

How does your story end?

F started the session with O by asking him the first question, without any discussion of the purpose of the task or the possible genre of the story.

F Where is the plughole?

20 O Sink, bath.

F Where are you - bath or sink?

O Bath.

F Write that down.

O writes ‘bath’.

25 F Why are you in the bath?

O To do a bath.

F Are you dirty or has something happened to get you dirty?

O ‘Cos I’m dirty.

F What have you done to make you dirty?

- 30 O Fallen in mud.
 F Write that down. F - A - L - L - E - N.
 O writes 'fallen'.
 F What is the sentence you'd write? Make a sentence using these two bits.
- 35 O I was playing in mud then I fallen then I went in my house then I had a bath.
 F Write something like that.

(Fieldnotes, Whatville, P53, 26.4.99)

The interaction continued in this way with F. going through the Planning questions, O. responding and F. helping him to write responses to the Planning questions which he would use the next day to write the story. Gregory (1994:58) has argued that such interactions, dominated by the Elicit, Response, Feedback (ERF) formula are controlled by the teacher and allow no space for negotiation. This test was in Imaginative Writing, but the nature of Imaginative Writing was not discussed with O. F's use of 'you' (lines 18, 22, 24 and 26 above) led O, to construct the sentence at lines 35-36 'I was playing in mud then I fallen then I went in my house then I had a bath' which reads as a piece of personal writing rather than imaginative.

The role which had been ascribed to the EAL teacher by the school was to enable the bilingual child to operate in the context of the monolingual assessment procedures. At the end of this session O. was expected to have planning notes so F. helped him to achieve these. The opportunity to support O's Knowledge about Language, thus enabling him to write more successfully and independently in future, was thereby missed. The cultural model that O had learning deficiencies which required remediation was resulting in a self-fulfilling prophecy.

In Whatville this cultural model influenced how the EAL teacher was expected to

operate in relation to the bilingual children in the infant department also:

R And have you had any, like N. goes out and sees, is it F. (the EAL teacher) that he sees?

K mm-hmm

R And does F. talk to you at all about work with him?

K She usually takes some of the work that we've been doing really and she'll go over it, like the reading book and she'll you know expand the vocabulary and that, make sure he really really

understands the vocabulary and she will then go on and do things like pronouns and wee games that again you know just sort of expand his vocabulary.

Interview, Karen 1, 23.11.98

Karen's explanation of how the EAL teacher operated correlated with the practice I observed:

1 During the Language work time F., the EAL teacher, came to the class and extracted N. Karen gave her a copy of the book 'Snail Song' from the Longman book project, on which the children in her language group have been working. The EAL teacher took N. to a table in the open area and
5 started reading the text aloud. N. was not looking at the words although F. was trying to focus his attention on the words. She then focused his attention on the pictures which he seemed interested in but he had difficulty focusing on the words.

F (pointing to a picture of a snail) 'What's this animal?'

N Snail song.

10 F (correcting him) This is a snail.

N Snail song.

F No this is a snail.

N Teacher says snail song

N (pointing to a picture of a mouse) Mouse again.

15 F. asked lots of vocabulary questions using the form, 'What's this?' She

focused on the words and tried to get N. to look at the words. The text says
 'I'm the tallest in the zoo.'

F What's in the zoo? Lots of ---?

N no response

20 F a---

N apples.

F went away and returned with a picture book about animals. She pointed
 to pictures and N. responded correctly to lion, tiger, elephant, monkey and
 giraffe. When he did not know the names of animals, F. offered the initial
 25 sounds of the animal name but this did not help him. He says 'penguin' for
 'ostrich' and asks 'What's that?' of a peacock.

F asked what are these of the elephant's tusks and trunk but N did not know.
 For the swan he said 'duck.' F offered the initial sounds of the animals N
 did not know but this did not help him. He knew camel, polar bear, whale.
 F told him 'leopard' and N replied 'we just did cheetah.' F returned to
 the book 'Snail Song.' F kept asking N to use the phonics to decode the
 words but he could not and used picture clues.

(Fieldnotes, Whatville, P21, 8.1.99)

Throughout this support session it seemed that F. had to respond to what Karen
 gave her, as Karen had suggested in the interview extract above. F. who is a
 peripatetic teacher for eight schools in the authority had not been able to see the
 text before working with N. There was no apparent reason why he was extracted
 from the rest of the group who were also working on this text. 'Snail Song' (see
 N's comment, line 9 above) is the title of the book but F. did not seem to realise
 this and was thus unable to use this dialogue to progress N's knowledge about
 language or to equip him with the cultural literacy practices (Gilbert, 1994,
 Gregory, 1994) necessary to be successful in reading in English. Vocabulary
 was the focus of the session rather than meaning. In lines 23-24 N demonstrated
 his knowledge of animal names. This could have been a useful opportunity to
 extend his cultural literacy by, for example, classifying the animals, a skill that

Megan in Noort Primary had expressed concerns about (see discussion on page 77).

This view of the ESL teacher as extra individual support for the bilingual children to enable them to fit the master model was reiterated on the final day of the research in Whatville:

- R Now he gets some support from F (EAL teacher) is that right?
- K&M mm-hmm
- R How often does she see him?
- M Is it twice a week? (to K)
- K Yes, twice a week.
- R And what's she doing with him just now?
- K We try and keep him with the rest, certainly in language, we try and keep him with the rest of the group because he actually fights against you doing other things so if we're doing a particular reading book she will take that reading book and she will take S. (a Punjabi speaking girl in Primary 2) and maybe em R. (monolingual child) who's a very good reader and she'll take them as a wee group, so we've got one that can do it and two that are not so hot and she will go over it with them and talk about the vocabulary in it and everything that he may not have picked up or S may not have picked up and they might do a little bit of reading and if we're doing some writing she will kind of oversee his writing.

Interview, Karen & Morven, 1,10.6.99

Although the practices and organisation of the Bilingual Support Team varied between the authorities the view of the mainstream teachers was that the role of the EAL teachers was to 'plug the gaps' to enable the bilingual children to operate monolingually. In the situation of peripatetic teachers whose job is defined by the schools they visit, they had to operate in this mode. Thus the teachers from the Bilingual Support Service, all of whom are themselves

monolingual are in a position of colluding with the prevalent cultural model of making the bilingual children monolingual.

In all the researched schools the curriculum is tightly defined with requirements on the teachers to use specific curriculum material. There were no school or authority policies in place regarding the education of bilingual learners so the policies which did exist concerning English language practices had to be paramount as the teachers planned for their pupils. In this way the school language policies shaped the cultural model of making the bilingual children monolingual and did not provide the teachers with any way of challenging this perception. If bilingual children had difficulties with the curriculum as presented it was assumed that this was due to their competence in the English language and they were given remedial support for this.

As the bilingual children who are withdrawn from class for EAL or learning support miss out on class work during this period, this could result in more learning needs.

The children in the infant classes at Noort, Kirk and Nanvale who are withdrawn to the Bilingual Support Service also miss significant amounts of the mainstream class content as a result of this off site support.

Janet, the class teacher in Primary 1, taught N., a Chinese speaking girl and T., a Punjabi speaking girl, both of whom are withdrawn from the school to attend the Bilingual Support Service four afternoons a week. Janet had mentioned what the girls missed in class in the first, unrecorded, interview and I raised it again with her on the final day:

- 1 R Last time I'd spoken to you you were saying that they missed certain
aspects of the topic in the afternoons and so on. How do you feel
3 that's affecting them, is that a problem or is it not really a great
problem?

5 J Well they're missing out on some of their Environmental Studies
because they're not here. They have missed out on some of their
7 Expressive Arts as well. At the moment we've got the gym
specialist in and we're taking alternate slots with the other Primary 1
9 so that every second week they're getting a chance to go to it. Last
week we would be in the afternoon so they missed it, this week
11 we're going in the morning so they get a chance to do that. The
same with singing that we're doing and the Drama. *They tend to*
13 *miss out on that but that's just unfortunate.* You can't be in two
places at the one time. I've tried to vary it so they are getting some
15 but they're not getting it all because they're not here. *There are*
timetable restrictions as well.

(Interview, Janet 2, 17.5.99)

Thus although N and T were missing a significant part of the primary curriculum Janet did not consider this to be of great importance (lines 12 -13) as they were being enabled to operate monolingually with remedial support for reading, maths, sentence construction and phonics. Janet mentioned timetable restrictions (lines 15-16) and this was a whole school issue as was discussed earlier in relation to Jenna's concerns.

Janet considered that the girls had deficiencies in their English language and that the responsibility for resolving this lies with the Bilingual Support Service (lines 11-13, 23, 30, 44 below):

1 J I would say, N especially is coming on leaps and bounds but she is a
very clever young lady. She still has some difficulties though with
3 her language side though as opposed to her number.
R What kind?
5 J Just finishing sentences. We've started to write stories now and she
has some difficulty. She'll come out and say 'I swimming' instead
7 of 'I went to the swimming' and things like that.

----- (Some discussion follows of writing I had observed that morning.)

9 R So is it usually in her written language that you see the difficulties or is it in her oral language as well?

11 J *In some of her oral language as well yes but the language unit are trying to bring that out now and they have pinpointed that out as the*
13 *next step for development.*

R What, trying to use complete sentences?

15 J Yes.

R How is she getting on with reading?

17 J She's getting on fine, she's the second group within the class and is very keen to read on, loves getting a new book.

19 R She seemed quite motivated certainly this morning. She had a big big smile when she read it successfully and so on. So do you think,
21 does she get help at home with that or does she get help at the language centre?

23 J *I would say mostly at the language centre* but she has, it will be an aunt, who is a younger aunt at, I'm not sure, G (secondary school) I
25 think she's at who I reckon will be in about 5th or 6th year and whether she helps at home I'm not too sure but she certainly is
27 coming on.

R And how about in maths? I mean the language of Heinemann can
29 sometimes be a problem.

J *Again that's covered at the language unit.*

Interview, Janet 2, 17.5.99

Although the curriculum in this class in the morning, as with the majority of the classes, was predominantly language and maths, Janet assumed that formal English language and maths work should also be covered by the Bilingual Support Service, in order to enable N to fit the master model of the monolingual child. However it is the Bilingual Support Service policy and school timetable policy which has resulted in this dual coverage of language and maths rather than

Janet deciding on this focus.

On the final day of the research in Kirk Primary, N, a Cantonese speaking girl in Primary 1 had told me she would not be going to the language centre the following year. I discussed with Janet, the class teacher, whether she thought N. would be continuing:

- R What do you think? Do you think she should be continuing?
- J I think she needs some more time, yes, for the language side.
- R To address those aspects that you were talking about, about finishing sentences and using the correct forms?
- J Yes and starting to blend sounds as well although she's got the initial sounds we'll be starting to do blending and just that extra help until she's more confident. Interview, Janet 1, 17.5.99

In common with Jenna and Iona, discussed below, Janet believed that one of the focuses for N. by the Bilingual Support Service should be to equip her for monolingual literacy by supporting her with phonic blending. These three teachers believed that phonic skills were an essential precursor to English literacy (as proposed by Adams, 1990) but that the bilingual children in their classes were having difficulty with phonics. This focus on phonics was a result of the existing school language policies which stressed the importance of a phonics programme.

On the final day of research in Noort Primary I asked Jenna, the Primary 2 teacher, what she thought, from her experience, bilingual children needed support with:

- R But what do you think the children might need help with?
- J (pause) maybe, probably their reading and their phonics.

(Interview Jenna 2, 11.6..99)

As with other teachers in the research, the support required for the bilingual child to succeed was framed by Jenna in terms of monolingual English literacy practices and processes. I observed these literacy practices in action on the second day in the classroom:

The whole class were given four independent, individual written tasks in the language programme, during which time Jenna intended to 'hear' all the children reading from their Link-Up text.

--- The third task was a workbook connected to the Link-Up reading scheme. The workbook directed the child to turn to the appropriate page of the textbook. However the workbook page Jo had to do did not correspond to the textbook he was currently using so he did not have the appropriate text in front of him and had difficulty with the comprehension tasks set out. The italics below show Jo's written responses:

Nicky liked to eat *banana*

Nicky took the *banana* off the banana..

The postman wore* a _____ on his head.

The boy next to Jo asked me "Do you know that * word? I told him, "wore". The boy then read out "The policewoman (sic) wore a coat?" and wrote "cout" in the space. Jo then copied this boy's answer, resulting in

The postman wore a *cout* on his head.

Jo then put this workbook away and went to the teachers' desk with his Link-Up textbook for group reading aloud.

(Fieldnotes Noort, P21,3.3.99)

Jo's work would not be marked until after he had left the school to go to the Bilingual Support Unit. Jenna would see he had made errors but it is unlikely she would be able to assess the reasons for these errors. Not only the school

curriculum and resources but the authority provision for bilingual learners which Jenna, a new teacher in the school, has encountered, leave her little room to question the cultural model, which in turn offers little opportunity for Jo to progress.

At Didmoon Primary there is no authority support for bilingual pupils. The influence of the cultural model under discussion was illustrated by Iona, the Primary 2 teacher at Didmoon, when she discussed her beliefs about J's learning needs:

1 I: At the moment he's finding phonics quite difficult because in the
 school you maybe say a,b,c,d (phonic sounds) but J actually goes to
 3 a Chinese school on a Saturday and the Chinese find it very very
 difficult to say the a,b,c, you know, the only understand the A B C
 5 (letter names) so J's been taught, at home, at the Chinese school
 with A B C D and at the moment we're trying to do three letter
 7 words and we're trying to sound out the word in his reading book
 which he's finding really quite difficult so that's what D McD's
 9 (learning support teacher) focusing on the last ten, fifteen minutes of
 each morning. He's actually come on, he is picking it up. Somebody
 11 told us that Chinese people couldn't actually say the a,b,c, they
 couldn't say that and they couldn't understand that but J seems to
 13 have picked it up and he seems to be able, you know, the rest of the
 class use it for practicing the three letter words each day, he seems
 to have picked it up.

(Interview Iona 1, 3.11.98)

Iona contrasted J's learning at home and in the Chinese school with the learning required for success in school (lines 2-8 above) and viewed the school as needing to compensate for this different style of learning which she has heard about. The source of Iona's beliefs about Chinese literacy practices was not clear at this

stage, but in a later interview she told me that an adviser from the education authority had told her this. This compensation is based on enabling J. to complete literacy tasks, rather than a holistic approach to literacy. Compensation is by way of remedial support (lines 8-9 above), which Iona elaborated on later in the interview when I asked her about any resources she used with J:

R: Are there any special resources that you've used for J at all since you started working with him?

I: Well, I've got a phonics pack that I made up for him that I've sort of gathered over the years and I've got really basic phonics. So we've tried Letterland with him as well and I've actually given them to Mrs. McD, did you see?

R: I saw the work he was doing, yes.

I: We did wee cards for him with the letters and he's tracing his finger over them, you know, he tries to copy them. That seems to have helped.

(Interview Iona 1, 3.11.98)

I had observed Mrs. McD working with J that morning on reading scheme and phonics work and these observations, as recorded in the fieldnotes, endorsed the holding of the cultural model:

Six children including J were extracted from the classroom with the Learning Support Teacher (Mrs. McD). Each child had a copy of Link-Up 3c(a commercial reading scheme) which, without any introduction to the text or the task, Mrs. McD asked J to begin reading aloud from page 1. Mrs. McD gave J considerable support for this, reading aloud the underlined words below, with J. reading aloud the remaining text:

“Silly Children

Karen was going along Hill Street with her Aunt Kate. Karen met Jim at

the bus stop.”

The written text appeared below a clear illustration but there was no picture talk or discussion about the text.. As each of the six children read a page in turn, Mrs. McD sat beside J., pointing to the words in his book. After all the children had read aloud they were sent back to the class with the exception of J. who was told “Sit, J., we’re not finished.” J. had a phonics workbook (referred to above by Iona) in which the next page to be completed related to the letter m. There were line drawings on the page and those objects which began with m have to be circled. Mrs. McD pointed to those objects which begin with m and J. correctly identified the first three objects as “motorbike, moon, mouse”. Mrs. McD told him the final picture was a mermaid and he circled these four images.

After J. returned to class I asked Mrs. McD if she had had any support for working with J. and she replied:

Very little. MP (an educational development officer in the authority with a part remit for bilingual pupils) said not to teach him phonics as Chinese children don’t understand phonics but Primary 2 is all phonics so I decided to give him individual work on phonics.

(Fieldnotes Didmoon P21, 3.11.98)

It is important to stress that Mrs. McD was a learning support teacher whose usual remit was to work with children who require Support for Learning. She had no prior experience of working with bilingual pupils. Although advice had been given to Iona and Mrs. McD. from an Educational Development Officer regarding the inadvisability of teaching J. phonics at this stage, it was the cultural model that prevailed over this advice in influencing practice.

Iona reiterated the importance of this cultural model later in the interview:

- 1 I This year I want to focus in on his phonics and his reading and we're trying at the moment to get just the initial letters, you know the a,b,c and then he'll go onto try to blend letters together, you know, p-o-t, whatever and his reading again, we will try to push him on a
- 5 wee bit with his reading. He's got flash cards at the moment, they seem to be helping because in the reading book *I think he tended to look at the picture and just sort of guess what was in the picture but now he can actually read* what the words say.

(Interview Iona 1, 3.11.98)

Iona viewed J's looking at pictures for clues as to meaning (lines 6-8 above) as not actually being reading. J. and the other bilingual children in the study were being expected to acquire English literacy through a focus on letters and letter sounds which themselves had no meaning.

This cultural model, that is, the belief that bilingual pupils need to be helped to fit the master model of operating monolingually in English influences the teachers' long term aims for the bilingual children. On the last day of the research in Nanvale Primary, I asked Lotty, the primary 5 teacher, what she thought was important for A., a Cantonese speaking girl:

R What would you say was most important for A now in the next two years of primary?

A I think to *concentrate on tense and grammar type things*, you know, to get that right.

Interview, Lotty 1, 19.11.98

Not all of the remedial support given to the bilingual learners who do not fit the master model was off site or at the expense of other curricular areas. In Nanvale Primary, Morag, the Primary 1 teacher, discussed why she had placed M in a reading group which gets extra support:

- R How long will he be at the language unit?
- M *It really depends on the parents' attitude and the school. I feel he needs it more for the social support but he really doesn't need it for his reading. He is coping. He could be in my middle reading group because of his ability but we've decided to put him into the group that now go to Mrs. G (assistant head teacher) for the extra help, the extra vocabulary and he will be working in a smaller group where we will be reinforcing the work although he is bright enough, he's coping with it. I don't see any learning problems as he is keeping up with the other children but just to give the extra support he's in a smaller group.*
- R And does he always go out every day for reading then?
- M Yes Monday to Thursday we have this half past nine time and we set for reading and from Monday we will split the children. Until now we have checked vocabulary, understanding and on Monday the best of the children will go out to Mrs. H; I will take the middle group and the ones we feel need a little extra support stay here. They tend to do a lot of extra vocabulary whereas I'll get onto written exercises and the other group will be extended beyond that so it's really just finding their ability so that should help with finding extra activities. If we find that M. can cope then he'll be given the extra but I'd rather emphasise the reading, the phonics, word recognition so that he has got a really good foundation to build on.

Interview, Morag 1, 19.11.98

During the course of the research Morag became involved in an authority working group developing guidelines for mainstream teachers working with bilingual children. This influenced her beliefs and caused adaptations to the model, as expressed above. From the deficit view of M's ability she moved to being able to see his academic ability separate from the surface features of his English language usage:

R And you mentioned how yourself, you'd rethought approaches as a result of being involved in the working party, could you say a bit more about that?

M The working party made me realise I've gone down the road which is very common that because you tend to give a little more time to the poorer children, a personal contact, then you want to pull the bilingual child into that group because you feel that will benefit him but as part of the working party made me aware actually I was not doing him any favours because his ability in maths and language were beyond the group he was being placed with and really I couldn't justify what he was getting out of the language was doing anything as much as the harm I was doing by taking him out of his own ability group so it's to be very aware that his ability was recognised, that only the language was the problem and nothing else. So I obviously had to move him on and put him into a different group to keep his level going.

Interview, Morag 2, 2.6.99

When Morag had the opportunity to be involved in discussion about the needs of bilingual learners her application of the cultural model she held was changed. The models by their very nature of being formed in a sociocultural context are dynamic but for the majority of the teachers in the research the Models had been formed in a policy and practice vacuum. The implications of these cultural models will be discussed in the section on Conclusions.

Chapter 4

Findings and Conclusions



Findings

It is appropriate now to return to the central research question and discuss, from the foregoing analysis of the data, what are the beliefs about best practice which influence non-specialist mainstream class teachers when teaching bilingual pupils and how have these beliefs been formed?

Although the interview and observation data gathered related to twelve classrooms and seventeen teachers, the answers to this question have to be set within the macro-context of primary education in Scotland. This context had been investigated prior to the school specific data gathering via documentary evidence and was summarised in table 2.2.

This context is one in which there is as yet no consistent policy regarding the education of bilingual learners and very limited provision of pre-service or inservice teacher education on meeting the needs of bilingual pupils. In three of the six authorities in which this research was conducted the bilingual pupils in the infant stages of the schools, who are assessed by the schools as not having sufficient English to cope within the mainstream, are removed from the mainstream class and school to special language units four afternoons a week for intensive English. In all twelve classrooms, the bilingual pupils receive learning support, outwith the class from the schools' learning support staff. This learning support is not geared to the children's bilingualism and is provided by staff who have no specialist knowledge of bilingualism. The curriculum and resources provided in the schools reflect the experiences of monolingual English speaking pupils, effectively suppressing the experiences and language of linguistically diverse pupils. Only one of the authorities employs a professional who can communicate in the home language of some of the bilingual pupils. This Chinese speaking classroom assistant is deployed peripatetically and no guidelines have been provided by the authority as to how her language skills can be best used.

Cummins (1996:139 - 141) elaborates on the educational structures, first introduced in the 1986 article previously cited (page 52 of this thesis) which might discriminate against linguistically diverse students. All of the features described in the paragraph above as pertaining to the education of bilingual pupils in the authorities involved in this research form what Cummins describes as structural discrimination against bilingual pupils. Such structural discrimination sets a framework which constrains the types of micro-interactions that can occur between teachers and pupils and it is essential that the foregoing analysis of the cultural models held by the teachers involved in this study is read within the macro-context of this structural discrimination against linguistic diversity. It is possible that an analysis of the cultural models regarding bilingualism held by teachers in different authorities where many of the conditions described in this research do not apply would be quite different.

The analysis of the data has shown that the beliefs held by mainstream teachers about best practice for bilingual pupils in this context are derived from the adherence to a master cultural model that bilingual pupils need to become monolingual in order to succeed. This master model helps to shape and organise the teachers' beliefs and practices and leads to a number of related cultural models, three of which have been discussed in this thesis.

Within the macro-context as described, mainstream teachers view their role vis-à-vis their bilingual pupils as one which will enable the bilingual pupils to substitute English for their home language(s). This substitution is with a stated aim from many of the teachers of aiding the pupils to 'fit in'. This fitting in, in the context of a monolingual English school environment, means in practice an assimilation into monolingual language and literacy.

The educator role definitions derived from this master cultural model that bilingual pupils need to become monolingual in order to succeed, interact with the structural discrimination described above to disadvantage the bilingual pupils.

A belief that the bilingual child needs to shed the first language seems to be based on an assumption, to use Cummins (1981) terminology, of separate underlying proficiency of languages, that is that proficiency in the first language is separate from proficiency in the second language and that there are no transferable skills between the two languages. The children are defined as having difficulties because of their bilingualism, rather than because neither the authority nor the school is providing an appropriate educational response to their bilingualism.

The research has also found that adherence to the master model of promoting monolingualism leads the non-specialist teacher in this context to believe that if the child's parents do not speak English they are hindering the child's academic progress, by definition, their ability to become monolingual. The parents are expected to operate within the school norms of language and literacy practices.

The third finding was that those bilingual learners who do not fit the master model, that is those who do not operate monolingually in the dominant language are viewed by the teachers as problematic. The solution to the problem was shown to be to provide a range of types of learning support, which had in common a focus on remediating the child's deficiencies in the dominant language. One result of this model was that the classrooms, despite having bilingual pupils, were in fact monolingual environments with monolingual resources.

Discussion Of Findings

A reflection on the findings about what influences beliefs about best practice for bilingual pupils amongst mainstream teachers indicates a number of implications for the bilingual pupils, their families, educational provision and teacher education.

In the given situation of no coherent policy for bilingual learners the classroom

teacher has to be the immediate language planner for the bilingual pupils. As proposed by Herriman and Burnaby (1996), Thompson, Fleming and Byram (1996) and Lo Bianco (1999) the absence of a policy concerning the education of bilingual children has led in the Scottish context to the existing practice for monolinguals being adopted as the status quo. The teachers whose voices are heard in this research are teaching from models of best practice which have been formed within these institutional constraints. As Corson has argued, conventional policies will pertain in a situation where neither school nor authority policies mention that pupils may be bilingual. The teachers do not have a framework for responding to bilingualism therefore the cultural models which influence the planning for the bilingual child ignore the child's bilingualism. Where there is no policy for the education of bilingual children Spolsky's (1972) language barrier may still exist and the teachers will have difficulty in defining achievement and setting targets for the pupils which will reflect their bilingualism. These difficulties were highlighted by many of the teachers in this research and are exemplified by Megan, who stated her concerns about not being equipped to teach W. because he did not fit the master model:

M I just feel as if I don't have the background or the knowledge; I mean it was in 1971 that I graduated and seven years out of teaching but I mean 20 years teaching. I have never been in this situation.

Interview Megan 1, 3.3.99

The teachers recognise they are in a new situation when teaching bilingual pupils. Their pre-service and inservice education have not prepared them for this situation and the macro-context in which they are working does not provide for this situation. That teachers recognise this gap in their knowledge echoes Brittan's (1976) findings that teachers believe the mainstream classroom alone will not provide the bilingual child with sufficient knowledge of English for academic success.

A number of the teachers referred to the invaluable support of the Bilingual Support Service, whether in off-site language units or by peripatetic English as an Additional Language (EAL) teachers, in providing additional input for the bilingual children. However the practice of these units was found to collude with and uphold the master model. This is again directly related to the lack of coherent policy recognising the benefits of bilingualism. The role of the units and EAL teachers was seen as being to remediate the English language deficiencies of the bilingual pupils. The practice which exists in this policy vacuum acts, as Stubbs (1994) argued, to ensure that schools act to assimilate linguistic minorities into the linguistic majority.

Thus the teachers in the study recognise the challenges of working with bilingual pupils but are constrained in an assimilationist educational structure which influences the cultural models they hold about bilingualism and suggests that the focus for academic success must be on the development of English at the expense of other languages. In this context the home language is viewed as a problem and fluency in English is seen as the goal. An interesting definition of who are the bilingual pupils arises in this situation in that, echoing Siraj-Blatchford's (1994) argument, the bilinguals are only defined as such when they do not have English language fluency. The lack of a policy for the education of bilingual learners results in those bilingual children who are apparently fluent in English having their bilingual competence ignored. Bilingualism in a policy vacuum then appears to be seen as deviant (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1971) with survival in the dominant language the main focus of educational practice.

The deficit view of bilingualism which was found to dominate the cultural models held by the teachers in the research has been shown (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981; Cummins, 1984; Gibbons, 1991; Thomas and Collier, 1997) to have long-term detrimental effects on bilingual children's educational achievement. These studies have indicated that the best educational provision for bilingual pupils is to provide maintenance of their first language alongside development of their

second language. Thomas and Collier (1997) have clearly demonstrated that monolingual educational support for bilingual pupils will not result in closing the achievement gap between bilinguals and monolinguals. Practice, such as that found in this research, which is influenced by a belief that bilingual children need to operate monolingually is unlikely to enable bilingual pupils to achieve their educational potential. Thomas and Collier (1997) have indicated that this English-only perspective omits vital elements of a bilingual child's language acquisition.

As the teachers' best practice is influenced by their belief that the bilingual children need to be monolingual to succeed, the bilingual children are being denied the opportunity to grow up bilingual, with all the cognitive, personal and social benefits that fully functioning bilinguals have. The children who are not monolingual in the dominant language of the classroom are being denied the opportunity to use their first language for creative purposes. As Skutnabb-Kangas has argued (1981: 79) the consequences for such children, that is those from low status linguistic minorities, failing to become bilingual are much more serious than for any of the other groups of bilinguals she has identified.

Concordant with the cultural model that parents who do not speak English are hindering the children's academic progress is a belief on the part of some of the teachers that the parents do not understand their children's difficulties in school because the parents do not share the language and literacy practices of the school. However neither the schools nor the authorities have enabled this linguistic barrier to be crossed by providing interpreting services. This could drive an emotional wedge between the parents and the children and between the home and the school, acting to reverse moves to promote parental partnership in education. If parents accept the teachers' encouragement of English only, which results from beliefs informed by the cultural models held, this may expose the children to poor models of English, but may also have a detrimental effect on both the quality and quantity of communication in the home.

At a recent conference on Bilingualism in Scotland, Cindy Lau, chair of the Chinese Parents' Committee in East Ayrshire (one of the research sites), urged schools to acknowledge and value children's home languages so that the children would not be ashamed of their home language and parents would be empowered to maintain the home language.

The research reported in this thesis did not attempt in any way to evaluate specific teachers' practices. However, as a result of the cultural model that bilingual pupils who do not operate monolingually in the dominant language are viewed by the teachers as problematic, lowered expectations of bilingual pupils were found to be a feature of some teachers' beliefs in this study. As reported in the analysis these teachers commented that the bilingual children would do better if they were not bilingual. In this context, the bilingual pupils are not always being provided cognitively challenging tasks, shown by Cummins (1984) and Thomas and Collier (1997) to be necessary features of academic success.

Conclusions

This section will discuss the generalisability of the findings, a personal evaluation of the research process and possible further research to be conducted in the light of these findings.

Generalisability

Although the research was conducted in a small number of schools and with a small number of teachers, these schools and teachers were chosen to provide a sample of situations in Scotland where neither the education authority nor the school had a written policy regarding the educational provision for bilingual learners and where the mainstream teachers had little experience of teaching bilingual pupils. As stated in the Methodology chapter, the schools were chosen to fit with this situation which is typical to so many areas of Scotland. It is hoped that the description of the sites will enable readers to make connections

with their own experience.

The cultural models which were found to influence the teachers' practices in the macro-context as described were not exclusive to teachers in one school or of a certain length of experience, but were found to pertain across the sample of seventeen teachers, albeit with overlaps and internal contradictions. Schofield (1993: 102) has suggested that "a finding emerging repeatedly in the study of numerous sites would appear to be more likely to be a good working hypothesis about some as yet unstudied site than a finding emerging from just one or two sites."

Guba and Lincoln (1982: 238) have indicated that "Generalizations (in qualitative research) are impossible since phenomena are neither time- nor context-free". They stress a concept of 'fittingness' in qualitative research rather than generalizability. It is hoped that the amount of contextualising information provided in this report will enable readers themselves to make an informed judgment as to whether the findings of this study may be useful in understanding practice in other schools and authorities.

The findings of the research are, by its ethnographic nature, influenced not only by the interaction between the respondents and myself at the time of the data collection, but also by the perspectives I bring to the study which I have discussed in the introduction, literature review and methodology chapters. Another researcher would not replicate these findings because the main research tool, that is the researcher as observer and interviewer, would be different. However I believe the evidence I have provided from field notes and interviews supports the findings that I have reached and hope that the report provides a picture that can be used (Schofield, 1993: 98) to help readers understand, reflect on and possibly improve existing practice for bilingual learners in the context as described.

Personal Evaluation

I will briefly discuss here some of the many benefits I have gained from undertaking the work reported in this thesis.

The process of this research has been a fascinating journey for me which in many ways has only just begun. I was professionally interested in the issue from the start for reasons outlined in the introduction but the research gave me the opportunity to read more widely on the subject than I would otherwise have done even though I provide teacher education on the issue. This in itself has been valuable and has altered the content of courses I teach.

Gaining insight into the beliefs of mainstream teachers concerning bilingualism has helped me to gear provision more directly to their needs rather than to my own assumptions of need. These insights have also helped me to consider what should and could be involved in a national language educational policy for Scotland which would reflect the multilingual nature of the population and help to promote real educational opportunity for linguistic minority populations.

The method of research highlighted for me the power of discussion, as the interviews became joint constructions of meaning over the year. I 'came to life'(Woods, 1996: 134) 'plugging into the life of things, at every turn jotting down notes, fashioning aides memoires, scribbling memos --- '. Everything I saw, read and heard was jotted down for later mulling over.

I have a much clearer argument for why there needs to be more pre-service and inservice teacher education provision to enable teachers to respond to all children's linguistic needs. This needs to be in the form of Language Awareness education which will help teachers to communicate and promote an additive orientation to their pupils' home languages.

I hope that I can help to break the cycle of subtractive bilingualism which

influences educational practice in Scotland by being part of an informed discussion which will lead to the development of a national language policy that promotes additive bilingualism. I intend also to contribute to developing a focus in teacher education on fostering teachers' understandings of the implications of bilingualism. I have begun and intend to continue being part of the process of sharing the research findings which demonstrate effective practice for bilingual learners.

At times during the research I had to be very aware of the distinction between being a researcher and being a teacher educator. The teachers in the research knew that in my professional life I assessed student practice in classrooms and this may have had an influence on how they responded to my presence and to my questions. There were several instances over the year of observation when teachers asked for my professional advice and I had to be able to give this conscious of the potential interference with my role as researcher. In discussing the data I had to be aware of the differences between writing as an ethnographic researcher of teacher beliefs rather than a teacher educator. The purpose of the research was not to evaluate teachers' practice nor to advise on improvement to practice but rather to understand why teachers adopted the practices they did in relation to their bilingual pupils.

The Next Step

This research did not consider the achievements of bilingual pupils in Scotland and there is important work to be done in this area. The data from this research did however reveal far more about beliefs and practices concerning bilingualism than has been discussed in this thesis.

There was a large amount of data in the research related to literacy practices in the schools and while some of this has been discussed in the analysis, there remains substantive and interesting further research to be done in Scotland on

family literacy practices and the biliteracy of children and their families. Much of the data related to children's interactions with a phonics approach to early literacy acquisition. There is an extensive literature on the use, difficulties and benefits of phonics as a methodology. An interesting future research project could consider the relevance, benefits and difficulties of using phonics as a method of teaching reading to bilingual pupils.

The research focused on teachers' cultural models of bilingualism. Further consideration of the data shows the creative ways in which the bilingual children in these classrooms responded to the pedagogy which resulted from these cultural models. An analysis of the children's work in the classrooms is beyond the scope of this research but there exists in the body of the collected material a rich source of data to explore bilingual children's ways of creating meaning in an additional language.

Further analysis of this data could valuably be conducted to consider the cultural models which teachers hold about specific ethnic groups. There is also material within this body of data which could be analysed to reveal how teachers view the relative responsibilities of class teachers, support teachers, schools and authorities to meeting the needs of bilingual pupils.

Assessment practices were not analysed in this research although the data reveals much about teachers' assessment methods and beliefs which could usefully be further explored.

The cultural model regarding parents' language use was shown to have implications for home-school relationships and it would be interesting to investigate the bilingual parents' perceptions of the educational provision for their children.

This investigation focused on educational provision in the primary sector. A similar investigation in nursery and secondary sectors would be a valuable addition to this research. A potential contribution of this project due to the depth of responses would be to aid the design of a survey questionnaire which could be used for greater breadth of response.

There is a great deal more research needed into the achievements of bilingual pupils not only in the Scottish context and I hope that this research will in some way contribute to the development of further work in the field of bilingual education.

Appendix 1

Sample Fieldnote




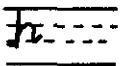
I reach the base at 8.55 am. The three teachers who have responsibility for the base in the morning are waiting for the children who are coming straight in from the base/playground door and hanging up their coats

Karen tells me there has been a big improvement in N's language since my last visit. The other two teachers agree with this. Karen shows me N's language work from the previous day. He has been copying consonant blends (sh, ch, wh and th) from the board and he has copied the 12-15 words without support. Karen tells me N is now 'speaking in sentences' and 'doesn't stand out like a sore thumb.' She repeats the 'my shoelace is open' story (see tape transcript from previous visit.)

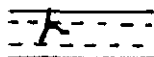
9.10

The three teachers get the children to stand up and communally recite the Lord's Prayer. N and S join in. Karen introduces me and the children say 'Good Morning.' The display is the same as on my first visit. N and S are in the same bases and the same seats as previously.

Karen and M distribute handwriting books. These are teacher made A4 workbooks comprising photocopiable Nelson handwriting sheets. The children in both bases are doing the same task, on the second page of the workbook which is a focus on writing the letter h.

Karen tells the children 'Take your magic pencil in the air.' She models writing h with her finger and gives oral instructions: 'All the way down and round and a little flick!' She tells the children to 'go six times round that one and not to go off the dark line' i.e. to write over the h printed on the page. M models this on the board on her side of the base which has been prepared as a copy of the page. Karen gives oral instructions telling the children to do 6 'Hairy Hatmen' i.e. the Letterland character.) She neither mentions h nor gives a context for the writing. Karen tells the children 'Now do the empty ones. Keep the line right in the middle' (i.e. the children have to write h in side the block-). Karen focuses her monitoring on pencil control, sitting position and correct letter formation. She tells the children to 'then go over the ones on the line' and focuses on the position, instructing the children to start at the top. M demonstrates this using guidelines on the board .

Karen goes to N, checks his work and says 'Good Boy.' She then draws two solid lines and two dotted guidelines on the board, as in M's base and reminds the children: 'Remember Hairy Hatman's toes go on the second dotted line.' She goes to help a child who is having a problem, then goes to N who is not going down to the bottom line:



Karen dots an h on the line for N and circulates round the class. She

returns to N and keeps him focused on the correct formation – ‘down to the bottom line then a wee tiny flick.’ Karen then tells the children to ‘circle h in the next two lines’ and write the number they find beside the picture at the top, which is of a hen. A child refers to the chicken and the teacher repeats the word chicken. She makes no connection between the picture and the writing task. As the children finish they put their open books on the teacher’s desk, then choose a book to read. Karen tells me this is ‘filling in time until the third teacher arrives for splitting the base into three language groups.’ She is currently doing Learning Support with Primary 7. N has circled all the h’s on the page rather than just the bottom two lines of mixed letters. He is colouring in the hen. Most of the other children in this side of the base are now reading their chosen book. Karen is sharpening all the pencils. In the other side of the base S has finished and is writing her name. M writes her surname for her. N tells Karen ‘I am finished.’ Karen checks his work and tells him only to circle the letters at the bottom. I check the previous page on which he has made the same error, circling all the focus letters on the page. N chooses a book ‘On the Way Home’ from the base library.

Karen asks him which book he has and he shows her. She briefly mentions the cover to him. He turns the pages and looks at the pictures; there are three on each page. The first few pages of the book are loose; N removes them and puts them in the library bookrack. N looks at the pictures from left to right. He is spending time with the book and mouths to himself, sometimes making vocal commentary about the picture.

VOCABUL
ARY
RATHER
THAN
MEANING

N: ‘A big guy’
Karen: (passing and hearing this) ‘What’s a big guy called?’
N: No response.
Karen: ‘G?’
N: No response
Karen: ‘Giant.’
N: ‘Giant.’

N returns the book and chooses another.

Karen says to me ‘It’s too hard for him but he was looking at all the pictures.’

I say ‘Yes, in the right order.’

Karen: ‘He certainly knew what it was about. He’s picking it up.’

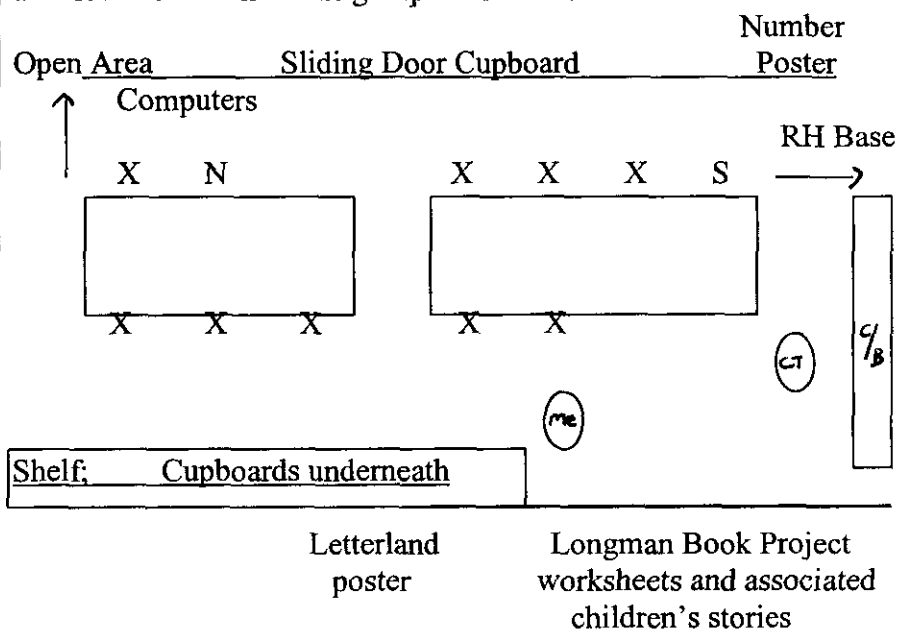
The book N now has ‘Franklin in the Dark’ has much more text and he’s not as engaged with it as with the previous picture book.

9.40 Karen asks some of the children to tell the class about their chosen books. One child has a nursery rhyme book. Karen asks him to recite his favourite rhyme. He says ‘Jack and Jill’ but does not recite it.

Karen asks N ‘What were you reading before?’ (referring to the picture book.) N replies ‘A dragon one.’ She asks N a few questions about the book but he has difficulty answering.

9.42

Karen tells the children, ‘Mrs. T (third base teacher) has arrived. Go quickly to your language groups.’ N and S go to the same group, in the slightly closed area where they had maths on my last visit. There are eleven children in this group with Karen.



9.45

Karen gives all children a copy of the same book: ‘Snail Song’ (Longman Book Project, Read On.) She asks ‘What’s it called?’ and asks questions about the *snail and its feet*. (Karen has used the associated Big Book on the previous day so the children have some knowledge of the text.) The book has sixteen pages and is colourful with large simple line illustrations.

Karen focuses on they rhyme in the text and tries to elicit rhyming from the children but there is confusion. Neither N nor S offer any answers. Karen reads the text aloud with the children and asks questions about animals and their habitats. She focuses on the word giraffe, saying it has two tall giraffes (ff) in the middle.

N turns the pages appropriately and joins in with the words naming some animals. S uses her finger to follow the words and reads aloud along with Karen.

Karen tells the children now they’ll do their DIY books. These are

	<p>A5 commercial workbooks associated with the reading scheme. She gives the children instructions from a copy of the book but the children don't have their own book yet. N is to finish Page 1 – draw snail and caterpillar. The rest of the group have to do Page 2 and Page 3. N is quite far from Karen. She calls him to attention but he is not focused. S is seated beside Karen. Karen goes to N and helps him to draw a snail on the cover and tells him to draw a caterpillar. N: 'I can't draw caterpillar. How do you get caterpillar?'</p>
DOES N KNOW WHAT A CATERPILLAR IS?	<p>Karen draws on his book , saying 'Wee circles joined together. Which one's his head?' N points. Karen says 'Give him feelers and two little legs on each circle'. Karen returns to the front and calls individuals to read the book to her. The rest of the group are working on Pages 1, 2 and 3 of the DIY book. S is colouring a leaf on Page 2. N is continuing to draw on Page 1. The book has a picture of a snail but not a caterpillar. There is a caterpillar drawn on the board (from previous day?) but it is very small and quite far from N.</p>
10.05	<p>N has drawn another caterpillar and a snail without a shell. He colours the snail. FM (the EAL Teacher) arrives and tells Karen there's been a timetable change and she'll take the children now. Karen shows F yesterday's work (the phonics work shown to me earlier) and gives F 'Snail Song.' F takes N (not S) to a table in the open area. She starts reading the text. N is not looking at the words although F is trying to focus him on the words. She then focuses his attention on the pictures and he looks on the pages from left to right. He is interested in the pictures but has difficulty focusing on the words.</p>
F DOES NOT SEEM TO CONNECT THAT THIS IS THE NAME OF THE BOOK	<p>F: (Pointing to picture of snail) 'What's this animal?' N: 'Snail Song.' F: (Correcting him) 'This is a snail.' N: 'Snail Song.' F: 'No this is a snail.' N: 'Teacher says Snail Song.' N: (Referring to a picture) 'Mouse again.'</p>
10.25	<p>Interval bell. I go to the staff room with F who discusses N with me (I know F professionally and she knows the focus of my research).</p> <p>F asks my advice as she doesn't think N is looking at the words. I suggest matching animal words and pictures as he is using picture clues to get meaning from the text. There is an extended interval for a staff meeting.</p>

11.00	<p>Return to class.</p> <p>Morven tells me there will be more language time as it was late starting this morning.</p>
11.10	<p>Karen is talking to the DHT. Karen's language group surrounds me asking for workbooks or help or approval. S is working on the Read and Do book and is having difficulty. The task involves reading three letter words and drawing a representation of them. The three words are rag, bug and hat. Karen has told the children 'they are all soundy words today.' S has drawn a hat but tells me she 'can't read' the other two words. She phonically decodes but clearly does not know the meaning of the words rag and bug. I help her with the meanings and she completes the task.</p>
HEAVY EMPHASIS ON PHONICS	
WHAT USE IS PHONICS IF THE MEANING IS NOT KNOWN	<p>Karen returns and corrects S's work, saying 'all right – excellent' but does not know I've given support. Karen sends S outside the base to the open area to play with the Lego 'for five minutes.'</p>
THE PERILS OF THE INTERFERING OBSERVER	
11.15	<p>Karen has heard three individuals reading and calls the fourth child. N is doing Page 2 of the DIY. S and three boys are playing with the Lego. Karen calls N to hear his reading ('N!'). N ignores her so she calls again</p>
HE MAY NOT KNOW WHAT HE IS TO DO OR THINK HE IS BEING REPRIMANDED	<p>Karen asks N (about the book) 'What's it called?'</p> <p>N: 'Snail Song.'</p> <p>Karen asks questions about the pictures e.g. 'What's the giraffe got you've not got?'</p> <p>N: 'Dots.'</p> <p>N 'reads' through the book, using picture clues and memory then brings his DIY book and Karen says 'Well done.'</p> <p>N has had a lot of individual teacher time on this book but it has not been co-ordinated or planned. N brings another copy of the book from the table saying 'I got another book, Snail Song.'</p>
11.25	<p>The children change to maths time.</p> <p>S and N are in the same maths group in the same location and seats as for language. There is some 'dead time' as the children and teachers swap over.</p> <p>Morven comes to the group and settles the children from maths by</p>

counting aloud the number of children in the group (12).

The children have gathered their own number lines and base boards. Morven tells the children their first job will be up and down sums then something special with shapes. She writes sums on the board

e.g.
$$\begin{array}{r} 4 \\ + 3 \\ \hline \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{r} 6 \\ + 0 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

She gives the children instructions about setting down their work on squared paper; drawing lines with a ruler, miss two boxes between sums and one box between rows.

She says to the group 'I'll go to N while you do sums.'

N IS
ORALLY
EXCLUDED
FROM THE
GROUP
11.34 – 11.37

M works with N on a page from Heinemann maths. She points to + sign and asks 'What does this say?'

N: 'add.'

M: 'What does this say?' (pointing to = sign).

N: 'makes.'

M: 'after this page what would you like to do?'

N: 'Lego'

M: OK

The concept is the same as on my last visit, i.e. recording numbers in each set and adding the result $\square + \square = \square$.

The pictures this time are of parrots. Morven reviews the page and tells him she'll see the page when he's done. (Workbook 5, Stage 1, as before, Page 10 – Introducing + Sign) Morven leaves N. N says aloud: 'two on that side, one on that side, is three again.'

Morven returns to check his work. In one box he's written not 6. Morven says to me 'It's small steps but he's coming on. He's just reached adding. He's been doing other work on addition.'

11.43

Morven has been circulating and reaches N again to give him support. She goes to check S who has finished the sums. Morven reviews spacing of the sums with the children. N calls out an answer to his work and Morven responds 'be busy.' N replies 'I'm doing it. I'm doing it square.'

11.45

Morven returns to N. He's not sure where to record the answers when none of the numbers are pre-recorded. He is getting all the answers correct. Morven takes the whole group including N round the corner to a quieter area. She tells me this is the first time since my last visit that the shapes have been out. She produces a box of thirty shapes. Morven selects a cube and asks N what it is.

N: 'cuboid.'

AGAIN
LANGUAG
E ABILITY
HINDERS
MATHS
SUCCESS

12.08

She shows him a cuboid and asks him again about the cube.

N: 'square.'

She asks another child who correctly identifies cube.

Morven asks N to pick out a shape he knows. He selects and names a cone.

Morven reviews the names of the 3D shapes and contrasts them with flat shapes. She demonstrates you can't build with flat shapes because they've only got two sides and reminds the children they looked at them in Primary 1. She holds up a rectangle, circle, triangle and square. N correctly responds triangle very quickly before he is asked.

Morven holds up the workbook for the children to see (Heinemann Shape Workbook.) There is a picture of a clown decorated with shapes. The children are sitting in a long row and can't all see the A4 page. N is sitting in front of Morven. She is showing the words for the shape names on the page but these are not supported by flash cards. Morven is introducing the words by their phonic beginning, using the Letterland names and she has trouble explaining 'circle' which is not phonically regular. Morven says she'll get this workbook for N also (Heinemann 2 Shape Workbook Page 5 'Shape Names'). Morven helps N who knows the names but can't read them. The task is to write the names in the shapes on the clown. When Morven realises this problem she gets N to record the first letter (s, t, r) on the appropriate shapes but give up and puts the book away.

S has finished the task correctly. N has chosen the 3D shapes but Morven removes them and gives him Lego as he is rolling the bricks S, N and another girl play together with the Lego.

There are now seven children playing with the Lego. The children are co-operative, share the Lego and interact with each other.

Morven announces 'tidy up time' and comes to talk to me. She asks me how my studies are going and when I'll be back. We talk about N. Morven says he's on a different programme from the rest of the maths group and he will come to 2D shapes later. I suggest having the written shape names on the shapes for him to match and say, maybe playing a matching game with another child. Morven says she'll make something like this when he comes to 2D shapes.

It strikes me the EAL Teacher could usefully do this but there seems to be no opportunity for planning or discussion and F has just to work with whatever is going on at the time she takes him

	Primary 2 – morning	
N }	<u>Writing</u>	Language
S }	Individual as part of a class –	Individual as part of a group
Rest}	written work	work programme and N: individual with EAL Teacher - oral individual as part of a group written work
	<u>Maths</u>	
N }	N: Individual work programme and individual in teacher led group	
S }	Individual as part of group work	
Rest}	programme Written work	

Appendix 2

Sample Interview Transcript



Prior to starting the tape Karen has asked me to remind her exactly what I'm doing:

R I work at Jordanhill, I'm a lecturer in primary education and my main work is with support for bilingual learners because I was an ESL teacher before I went to Jordanhill, I've been there about nine years now and decided to do a doctorate so what I'm looking at is where there are bilingual children, small numbers of bilingual children in schools that don't have a long history of having a lot of bilingual children what the class teachers are doing basically and The title of the thesis is Teaching and assessment of Bilingual pupils: Challenges, Constraints and Influences on Practice and it's ---

K --- Right!

R --- really just looking at, eh, because most of the research that's been done has been in schools ---

K --- big groups of them ---

R --- where there's lots of bilingual children and that's a very different situation ---

K --- we've only got two in the class, did you see S. in the other -? (side of the base, implied)

R S. yes I was looking at her work as well. It's a different situation when there's just a few children and when the teachers themselves haven't been working with bilingual children ---

K --- That's right ---

R --- for a long time, so ---

K --- or at all.

R --- it's really just trying to look at --- Exactly, that's it.

K I've had a couple in the past but their English has been good.

R Right,

K So this is a different kettle of fish.

R so is this the first child that you've worked with ---

K where his English has been really poor.

R How long have you been teaching?

- K Em with a break in the middle, eh I retired you see then I came back which was a bit ghastly, em twelve, fourteen years, something like that.
- R Can you remember, I mean this is a hard one but can you remember did you have any pre-service input on working with bilingual learners?
- K No.
- R And have you had any inservice on bilingual learners?
- K No.
- R Right. Now with N. in the class, he gets some support from the ESL teacher is that right?
- K He does, yes.
- R So what kind of support does he get?
- K He sees her on a Friday and they go away for a wee while. She does a lot of you know the usual sort of things, prepositions and all these kind of things, things that he's weak on. He also, one of our auxiliaries, J. who's in the office, she comes along in the mornings and talks to him, it depends what we're doing, if we're starting a new reading book then I give it to her and say look, have a look at this with him and talk to him about it, just to get his language going because in fact this afternoon when we were talking about the hospital you'll notice he suddenly came alive, that is the longest speech he has made in front of the class ever, that is definitely the longest speech and he's just beginning to talk out now.
- R Do you think that, had that been prepared with him with the auxiliary or ---
- K No, I think, we've done quite a bit about the hospital but he just sort of suddenly came out with it, I mean he does, there was a very strange incident the other day actually, I don't know if M. (the other base teacher) told you, it was in maths and he of course is on a separate scheme and she had been doing shape, 3D shape, did she tell you?
- R She mentioned yes and he'd been listening in ---
- K --- and he'd picked up the whole lot. I mean I think the kid picks up and could do a lot more than he does. He is naughty, he's a lot less naughty now. When he first came into the class he stuck out like a sore thumb and you were constantly, constantly at him and he was just naughty all the time. I have fought with him and well you know I always win as I told his

mama and you know if he wouldn't go where he was supposed to go he got lifted because I'm bigger than him and he now is beginning to toe the line but he's still naughty, but he's beginning to toe the line a lot more and see what's happening. He takes a lot of cues from the other children. You'll see him looking round a lot but you have to be really firm with him. What his main trouble is really is lack of language. I don't think he's as how shall I put it, not bright as he appears. I talked to his father at parents' night and I asked him how much English was spoken at home because mother seems to speak Urdu all the time and he said not very much and I suggested that perhaps although he's out working a lot I suggested that perhaps he spoke a lot more English in the house and he said that quite often he'd say something to N in English and he would look as if he didn't understand so he would repeat it in Urdu which I said was fine you know as long as he gets the English input. The other problem, I think N's biggest problem is that he, last year he was in a class, a base with two teachers, primary one, first in school you know shambles, two teachers, not enough staff and because he was naughty and she, she couldn't give him enough time, she just couldn't give him enough time, it was physically impossible and he was constantly getting rows 'cos he was constantly in trouble, I mean he was just a menace. this year we have him in a smaller group where you can keep an eye on him, I mean there's only twelve in that little group and you can you know you're down on them all the time, but I think he had a definite feeling and still has perhaps of not being worth very much. His mother has said in front of him, in front of me, in the class with small brother in hand Oh S. (younger brother) he is clever, N. he is not clever. And I think he feels that maybe he's just not clever and that's s it so why bother. So at parents' night again I was telling Papa that really this must not be said in front of N and I was explaining that we do very, I give him very little negative things in school, it's all whatever he's I mean even if he picks up a pencil it's good boy, he gets stickers for everything, it's really unfair on the other children. He gets stickers for everything, he gets praised when he tries and when he came in he just he couldn't write anything much really. He knew all the Letterland names ---

R ---Was this when he came into P2?

K When he came into P2. He knew all the Letterland names, they'd been drummed in and he knew his colours very well and he could recognise the words for colours to read. He had no idea or very little idea of reading. He hadn't got the idea that you moved along the line. Again I think perhaps a maturity thing, he also had been to some kind of summer school, a language summer school or a playgroup or something which I think probably helped him a lot and he is now, he will follow, I mean he's not reading the words by any manner of means and he's got a good memory and he can memorise pretty well, but he will follow the words in the right way. He can now write his first name himself and he can he's having a go at the second. By chance I found that the best way to deal with him, apart from being quite firm about what he does and what he doesn't do because he quite often said NO. He doesn't now, he just says no and I say yes and the only way to deal with it is to make life so difficult for him that he just damn well does it you know, like if you're not going to do that I will take this book away from you and you can just sit so we'll have the book back and do it kind of thing. He doesn't say no so much now, I can't remember what I was going to tell you, what was I ---

R --- the way to handle him ---

K --- the way to handle him, yes, one day I was in quite a hurry and I had been doing dot letters for him because his pencil, he's left-handed and his pencil control is improving but it wasn't great and the letters were you know not very well formed and that frustrated him because he knows what he wants to produce and he can't do it and that made him cross as well so I started doing dot letters for him and he was joining the dots and the letters were coming out really rather nicely which pleased him, spurred him on, and gradually I was saying now I'm not going, I'm only going to do the first one now in dot letters and what-not and that didn't please him quite so much but anyway I was in a hurry one day and I threw out these writing books and I said right you know let's get started, we'll do this and I didn't actually pay much attention to him and off he went, so I was very good, yes, uh-huh, didn't make a big fuss about it so now I just chuck out the work and let him start and if he's making a mess of it then of course I'll go and help and what-not or you'll see it's cut down, but if it's not, I mean he can make a

reasonable attempt at some things now so he's beginning to copy from the board, finds it hard, it's better if I write it out for him but he's beginning to copy from the board. Sounds he hasn't grasped yet that the sounds make up a word you know we've just started sounding that little group anyway and he hasn't quite twigged that yet but you can see it almost beginning to come. I think a lot of it's a maturity thing.

R Is he young for the class?

K I don't think, I don't have his date of birth, I'd have to look, I'm not sure but I could tell you that next time. But I think he has a low self-esteem. I think that's half his trouble and I think that's why he's so naughty. And now he's beginning to find he can do things ---

R --- and getting praise so he's working ---

K He's beginning to.

R I saw you were scribing for him this afternoon, is that right?

K There was too much for him to copy so I wrote down most of it, read it and left him with the one word to put in, but again he was finding it hard to copy from the board, I had to actually say the letters to him, and the other thing is that he finds it hard, just pencil control again, or whether he doesn't realise that the words stay together. You have to, I usually just leave my finger there and move it along so he doesn't put the letters miles out, otherwise he's away off to Paisley you know, so all these things, I mean he's just got problems all round; it's just going to be wee slow steps.

R And have you had any, like N. goes out and sees, is it F. (peripatetic ESL teacher) that he sees?

K mm-hmm

R And does F. talk to you at all about work with him?

K She usually takes some of the work that we've been doing really and she'll go over it, like the reading book and she'll you know expand the vocabulary and that, make sure he really really understands the vocabulary and she will then go on and do things like pronouns and wee games that again you know just sort of expand his vocabulary. She also is the link with the home. You get nothing back from the home, home is just very difficult, letters or anything that goes out, you have to phone eventually.

R He's not O's (boy in primary 5) wee brother is he?

K No, there's N. and S. is the wee one who is not in yet but he is S's (girl in other primary 2 base) wee cousin and on the first day when they came to school just the you know the introduction day she led him round and she 'I carry it, I do this' you know and she did everything for him everything and I don't think he really, I think he just is allowed to do what he likes because when mother was in, her English is very poor and I was explaining I said N. is naughty and she was grinning, ah yes, I said N. says no, I say yes, I always win, you must always win and she kind of went mmmm, so it's obviously a struggle and again his father at parents' night he said he will not do what I tell him, I said he MUST do what you tell him but I don't know whether it's all too much.

R So what kind of things when you're teaching him are the things that you wonder about and you question about him?

K I wonder how much he's taking in, I wonder how much of the language he, I mean I always put it two or three different ways and even occasionally resort to Pidgin English you know just to make it as simple as possible and again he takes cues from the others, no matter what you've told him he will take a cue from the others, he will look around. I started to modify the DIY books, you've seen the wee DIY books we do?

R Yes

K The first one we had there was too much writing in it for him so I got the computer and played around, modified it for him and gave it to him and he was quite happy with the first page and then he looked at the others and you could see him sort of going oh wait a minute you know. Again he likes to be the same so I've been keeping him on the same reading book. Now I don't think he's picking up such an awful lot of the reading I really don't. I don't know that he's actually ready to pick up such a lot of reading but he's with the others and he's making an attempt.

R Which scheme is it you're using with him?

K It's the—oh gosh what's it called? It's gone—

R It doesn't matter.

K What's it called? Longman.

R The Reading World?

K No it's not Longman, oh what's it called?

R It doesn't matter, I'll find out later.

K It's just new too, it'll come to me in a minute.

R Do you know if he goes to mosque school at all?

K I haven't a clue.

R You don't know. But you reckon that he mostly speaks in his first language at home.

K mm-hmm.

R Do you know if his parents are teaching him to be literate in his first language at all?

K That I have no idea, I have no idea. We have a bilingual dictionary but of course ---

R --- he wouldn't be able to use that---

K --- no use at the moment.

R Has he ever pointed to the you know how you've got the signs on the classroom door? He's never shown any particular interest in that, no.

K No

R Do him and S. do they work together at all now?

K Not really, not really, he's kind of on his own now. The children are quite helpful to him. I explained at one point that it was like them being sent to a French school and trying to get on and they're actually quite helpful, they'll sort of say, Oh N. you're doing this or they'll actually say Let me see N., oh that's good, obviously taking the cue from me, so again he's getting sort of underlining that he's doing quite well and that makes him happy, you can see it, but when you're telling stories and things, he likes Mr. Men books because I think the pictures are simple and he'll get right up beside you so that he can see what's going to happen next and what-not, so he quite likes them. Other stories that are really wordy he'll just loll about ---

R --- he switches off ---

K --- uh-huh, he doesn't -

R Has he been in the hospital play corner yet?

K I don't think his group have yet, I don't think they have yet, but this coming out with "I have been to hospital, whether he has or not ---

R But he seemed to have some notion because even ---

K --- Oh yes ---

R --- the fact he was saying there were toys there ---

K --- and a TV and all that ---

R --- yes, which isn't the sort of thing that you'd necessarily expect children to ---

K --- that's true ---

R --- be saying about it, they'd say about the nurses, that's been the language focus. but there would be toys in the children's ward

K So he must have at sometime but as I say that was the longest speech he'd ever come out with in front of the class and I thought Oh you're performing well today boy.

R I wondered if it had been maybe that earlier in the hospital topic you'd done, you know how today you were focusing on the play area and maybe if earlier there had been you'd done something about Have you been to hospital?

K Oh yes, well Maisie's been to hospital and he'd heard the story ---

R --- The cat?

K The cat, but then he hasn't heard about TV's and toys.

R So it wasn't just a repetition of something he'd said earlier?

K No, I don't think so.

R 'Cos I've noticed sometimes with bilingual children that if they have a success in English with something they'll repeat it again and you can get a wee bit fed up hearing ---

K --- Yes S. does that sometimes.

R But that was totally new?

K mm-hmm. But he's becoming he talks a lot more than he did. But I mean my main worry is how much is he actually taking in, how bright is he really. You know don't think he's a genius by any stretch of the imagination but I think he probably could do better than he's doing now. I don't think it's all a language thing, it's behaviour too, you know. He's a wee ratbag actually. It's just hard to know, it'd be nice to know.

R That's great, thanks.

K Is that alright?

R Yeah that's super. Probably it'll be interesting watching him in the hospital corner ---

K Yes to see what he would do. When are you ---

R I'm here again in January.

K Our hospital will have gone by then, but I'll watch him and see what he does.

R Because when he was out, who's the other teacher, is it M?

K Yes, M

R M had him out after the maths playing with the Lego ---

K --- he loves the Lego ---

R --- with some of the other children---

K --- and he always builds a park with elephants and horses.

R Yes

K That's what he always does.

R But there was quite a lot of talk going on among the children and he was obviously getting a chance to just talk about something quite freely ---

K --- Of course I don't usually hear what's going on amongst them because I'm always doing something else but he is a lot, I think he's a lot more relaxed, I think he now knows the bounds you know and he's not going to get away with all that much.

R Was he at nursery?

K I don't think he was at nursery. As I say he was at this thing over the holidays which probably helped him a bit and he's that wee bit older.

R Probably not being at nursery would make it difficult for him

K I think maybe he should have maybe had another year at nursery even if he had one and that would have helped

R Right that's great, thanks very much

K I hope it's been helpful. What's that bally reading scheme?

R It's not the Oxford Reading tree?

K No, no, it's a new one. I'll have to go and look it up.

End of taped interview

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